The Outlook

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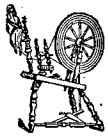

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The Subsidy Bill Defeated

The event last week in the Senate was the displacement of the Shipping Subsidy Bill on Saturday by a vote of 45 to 2. For several days the signs of Republican restiveness regarding the bill had been increasing, and on Friday the fate of the bill for the present session was sealed when Senator Teller, of Colorado, declared that certain obnoxious provisions would afford a month's debate, that two or three Republican Senators had expressed in his presence the desire that no vote should be reached, and that half of the Republican Senators were at heart opposed to the measure. Mr. Teller charged that the bill was being kept before the Senate by men who knew that it could not pass at the present session, in order to delay other legislation and thus excuse the calling of an extra session, when the bill might pass. This charge was resented, but when on the following day Senator Spooner, of Wisconsin, moved that the Oleomargarine Bill be substituted for the Subsidy Bill as the unfinished business before the Senate, the only votes against it came from two Democratic Senators who disliked to express even qualified sympathy with the oleomargarine measure. The opponents of the subsidy now believe that unless an extra session of the newly elected Congress is called speedily, the present bill cannot be passed through Congress during the next two years. The longer the measure has been before the public the stronger the opposition to it has become, and its consideration is not likely to be revived by its friends when important political campaigns are pending. The closing sessions of an expiring Congress, it is affirmed with much reason, are the only time when a measure so clearly burdensome to the mass of taxpayers can safely be supported by the representatives of doubtful districts.

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Philippine Conciliation Resolutions

Mr. Seth W. Brown, of Ohio, has made a speech in the House of Representatives which should make it clear to the country that a large part of the Republican party does not desire the permanent annexation of the Philippines in case their people desire independence. Mr. Brown began his address by saying that the time had arrived when Congress ought to declare its purpose toward the Philippines. Three policies, he said, are possible. First, we can hold the islands as territories, with the purpose of ultimately admitting them into the Nation; but the separation between the habits, the thoughts, and the feelings of the Filipinos and those of our own people makes this proposal almost unthinkable. In the second place, we may, if our Constitution will permit, keep the islands perpetually as dependencies; but this policy, he thought, would not only involve the maintenance of a costly army and a costly navy, and impair our right to defend the little States of the New World against territorial aggrandizement from the Old, but would involve for us the still greater cost, "greater than any sum of money can measure, of violating principles which we have cherished as the very life of free government." The third policy which is open to us, he said, is to "retain possession of the islands as long as may be required to fully establish our authority therein, and as much longer as may be necessary to enable their inhabitants, with our assistance, to form a stable government for themselves, [and] then, under proper conditions, leave the islands to their people." In order to bring about a peace which would involve no sacrifice of pride

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to our own people and no sacrifice of honor to the Filipinos, he offered the following joint resolution:

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That it is the purpose of the United States, in retaining possession of the Philippine Islands, to aid their inhabitants, when they submit to the authority of the United States, in establishing a capable and stable free government; and when this purpose shall be fully accomplished, the United States, under such reservations and conditions as may be wise and just, will relinquish sovereignty in those islands.

This resolution, Mr. Brown pointed out, contains "no hint, no thought . . . of the failure of our army in the Philippines." "We can adopt this resolution without any sacrifice of pride." Its first effect would be to "weaken whatever remains of resistance to American authority." Its other effect would be to show that this Nation is still true to the liberty-loving spirit of the Teller-Davis resolution, which declared respecting Cuba:

That the United States hereby disclaims any disposition or intention to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction, or control over said island except for the pacification thereof, and asserts its determination, when that is accomplished, to leave the government and control of the island to its people.

The repudiation of this pledge to Cuba, he declared, would be "the climax of greed, . . . the doctrine of a freebooter, . . . the code of a pirate;" and any departure from the spirit of this pledge in the Philippines could never cease to trouble the conscience of our people. In the applause which greeted this speech many Republican members joined.

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A Practical Bill Against Trusts

Representative Babcock, of Wisconsin, who is a member of the Ways and Means Committee, and has been for several years Chairman of the Republican Congressional Campaign Committee, introduced a bill last week to deprive the impending steel combination of tariff protection against foreign competition. The bill places all steel products, except those of a finished character, such as cutlery and firearms, upon the free list. It abolishes the duty of four dollars a ton on pig iron, of twelve dollars a ton on bar iron, of sixteen dollars a ton on round iron, and also the various imposts on structural iron, sheet iron, boiler plates, iron hoops, steel rails, steel ingots, wire rods, and steel wire. In short, it practically places upon the free list all the products of the proposed combination. The fact that last year the United States exported over sixty million dollars' worth of steel goods, while it imported less than twenty million dollars' worth, is deemed by Representative Babcock and his sympathizers conclusive evidence that the steel combination can make goods as cheaply as they can be made abroad; and while the proposed bill cannot compel the trust to sell to American consumers as cheaply as it sells to consumers abroad, it will at least keep the combination from charging American consumers more than the foreign price plus the cost of reshipment to the United States. Needless to say, this bill, coming from the manager of the Congressional campaigns, has created a decided sensation. Some Republican Congressmen are alleging that it is inconsistent with the party creed, and will make it difficult for independent manufacturers to compete with the steel combination; but this avowed concern for the independent manufacturers will hardly divert public attention from the need of protecting the public against monopoly prices. Mr. Babcock urges that the Republican creed is only protection for infant industries, and that the billion-dollar steel combination has outgrown the swadding-clothes of infancy.

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The Increasing Appropriations

In both houses of Congress during the past fortnight there has been a tardy alarm over the rapid increase in Federal expenditures. Week before last Senator Hale, of Maine, warned the Senate that the "billion-dollar Congress" which stirred the people so much ten years ago was likely soon to be succeeded by a "billion-dollar *session*." Last week Mr. Richardson, the Democratic leader in the House, told that body that the appropriations for the present session would surely reach $800,000,000, or $330,000,000 more than the appropriations of the corresponding session four years ago. If averages mean anything—and averages have their meaning—the aggregate appropriation this year means a tax of over fifty dollars upon the ordi-

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nary American family with eight or nine hundred dollars a year income. During the present season of exceptional prosperity this burden imposed through indirect taxes is not actutely felt, for the mass of people are better off now than four years ago, in spite of the new demands upon them; but the burden is none the less real, and when once increased is not easily reduced. Retrenchment is now being made peculiarly difficult by the Congressional practice of authorizing contracts which necessitate appropriations from succeeding Congresses. The defeated Subsidy Bill, for example, would have required the payment of nine millions a year for nearly a quarter of a century, whatever the opposition thereto of future Congresses, and the River and Harbor appropriation bills of late years have regularly authorized contracts which future sessions must carry out. This method by which extravagant Congresses escape the odium of their extravagance has now been carried so far as to suggest that each Congress should be required by public opinion to issue bonds to meet all contracts which will burden its successors. There would be vastly more economy if each Congress were obliged to face immediate public accountability for the full amount of its expenditures.

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The Cuban Constitution

The Convention at Havana has now adopted, with various changes, the draft of the Constitution laid before it by the committee appointed for that purpose, and it is expected that during the present week a formal vote will be taken by the Convention indorsing the Constitution as a whole. Meanwhile, it is reported that the special committee appointed by the Convention to draw up a proposition defining the future relations between the United States and Cuba has been in conference with Governor-General Wood at Batabano. It should be noted, in view of the fact that some American papers have attacked the Convention for its reluctance to put anything into the Constitution itself about the relations between the two countries, that in point of fact the Convention has done precisely what it was requested to do by the United States, speaking through its official representative, General Wood, at the opening of the Convention. At that time General Wood used these words, which have been embodied in Civil Order No. 455: "It will be your duty, first, to frame and adopt a Constitution for Cuba, and, *when that has been done*, to formulate what, in your opinion, ought to be the relations between Cuba and the United States." According to all reports from Cuban sources, the Convention is inclined to embody in the recommendation made by this sub-committee any reasonable requests presented by the United States. An influential Cuban paper, "La Nacion," has issued a definite scheme of concessions to the United States, including an agreement on the part of Cuba to negotiate no loans on which she is unable to pay interest; to make no treaties with other nations prejudicial to the interests of the United States in Cuba, or in any way preventing the island's freedom of action; to offer one or more coaling stations as perpetual concessions to the United States; and to respect all rights acquired by military decrees during the period of intervention. On the other hand, the United States will guarantee peace and the protection offered in the Treaty of Paris. It should be remembered also that the Monroe Doctrine will naturally, and without any specific declaration by the United States or agreement between the United States and Cuba, apply to Cuba, exactly in the way in which it now applies to Venezuela and other South American countries. It is not necessary for the United States to warn other countries not to interfere in Cuban affairs, as other countries well understand the permanent position taken by the United States and defined by the Monroe Doctrine. Among the changes made in the Constitution, in addition to those we have already mentioned, was one establishing an electoral college for the election of the President (a very doubtful improvement on the former provision for a direct popular vote), and the adoption of a clause which has the effect of making General Gomez a possible candidate for the Presidency of the Cuban Republic.

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Partial Ramapo Legislation

The New York Assembly last week passed a bill restoring to the city of New York the right to condemn for its use watersheds not in actual use

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for the supply of the people of other places, or likely to be needed in the future for the supply of such places. Under this bill, as we understand it, the city may by condemnation proceedings acquire the water rights already in the possession of the Ramapo Company, paying of course whatever price may be determined by the arbitrators appointed. The bill is thoroughly good, and ought immediately to be accepted by the Senate and made law. Its enactment, however, by no means ends the fight that needs to be made against the Ramapo monopoly. This company, as the Merchants' Association of this city has recently reminded the public, was at first chartered to acquire, through voluntary purchase and sale, water rights in a relatively small district on the west side of the Hudson River. In 1895, however, a bill was passed designated in its title as one to "limit and define" the rights of the Ramapo Company, which, instead of limiting them, gave the Company power to compel the owners of watersheds all over the State to sell them to the Ramapo Company, provided these watersheds were not in actual use for the supply of public corporations. This "limitation," it will be seen, gave this private company more power than ought to be given to any public body; and the public danger is not averted until the Company has been deprived of these exceptional privileges. The people of New York State must not permit their legislators to claim that the bill passed by the Assembly discharges their obligation to avert the peril in which the public was placed by the flagrant charter granted in 1895. The State should reclaim its right to its water supply, not only for the city of New York, but for all the cities and towns of the State.

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Mayor Van Wyck's Veto The New York Legislature has passed a bill removing the bi-partisan Police Board and substituting therefor a single Police Commissioner, who is to be appointed by the Mayor, but may be removed either by the Mayor or by the Governor without trial or presentation of charges. Under the Constitution of New York State the Mayor may veto any bill affecting the city, which then goes back to the Legislature, which may pass it over his veto by a simple majority; the object of this provision being to give time for ample consideration and public discussion of all bills affecting the municipality. The Mayor has vetoed this bill, accompanying his veto with a message stating the constitutional objections to it. The Constitution provides that city and town officials whose appointment is not otherwise provided for by the Constitution shall be elected by the electors of the city or town, or appointed by such authorities thereof as the Legislature shall designate for that purpose. This provision makes it clearly unconstitutional for the Governor to appoint the Commissioner. It further provides that "when the duration of any office is not provided by this Constitution, it may be declared by law; and if not so declared, such office shall be held during the pleasure of the authority making the appointment." The Mayor insists that a provision of law authorizing the Governor to remove the Police Commissioner violates the spirit if not the letter of this provision, since it practically makes the office one held during the pleasure of the Governor, not during the pleasure of the authority making the appointment. It appears to us that there is much strength in the Mayor's contention; that, when the two clauses of the Constitution are taken together, their apparent meaning is to confer both power of appointment and of removal on the officers of the city, and that a law transferring the power of removal to the Governor is at least of questionable constitutionality. The expediency of conferring such power upon the Governor is another matter. It is objected to by some reformers on the ground that it will lead to political bargaining between the two machines, the one in control of the State and the one in control of the city. There is some force in this objection, but it is at least a fair question whether this evil would be greater than that of leaving the city in the unlimited control of one machine. We are inclined to believe that the check on the power of the Mayor furnished by giving the Governor power to remove would be expedient if it were constitutional. The question of its constitutionality must of course be left to the courts to decide, but it cannot be doubted that the constitutionality of the measure is seriously questionable.

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Mrs. Nation's Crusade

We learn from Kansas that the ordinary rules of perspective have been reversed in regard to Mrs. Nation's crusade. Instead of looking smaller in the distance than near at hand, the further one gets away from Kansas the larger it appears. The spectacular elements which it presented, and the discredit it seemed to throw upon the prohibitory laws, are said by the prohibitionists of Kansas to have led newspaper correspondents to exaggerate the importance of the movement beyond all reason. One of them tells us that when Mrs. Nation came to Topeka, the joint-keepers, who hold about the same place there that the policy-shop keepers hold in other cities of the same size, did get together and considered meeting force with force. They were, however, dissuaded by a good-natured gambler, who, when asked for advice, said: "Don't you touch her, boys. If you hurt her in any way, the people won't stand it and it will be the end of you; but if you let her alone, the little bit of furniture she breaks will be mighty small pay for the advertising you get." This incident, he tells us, shows not only how the crusade is regarded in Kansas, but also the reason why the saloon-keepers have offered no resistance. Mrs. Nation has been placed under arrest, and it will soon be determined whether the Kansas law makes saloons a nuisance in such a sense that any individual may abate them by breaking into them and smashing the furniture as well as destroying the liquor illegally held for sale—a doctrine which appears to us promotive of lawlessness. Last week Mrs. Nation was in Chicago, but at some places in Kansas imitators have continued her policy of "smashing" saloon furniture. At the town of Winfield a mob led by a minister is reported to have wrecked a saloon and seriously injured its keeper, thus precipitating a riot, in which one of the saloon assailants was wounded. The wrecking of this saloon is reported to have been revenged the following night by the wrecking of a church, but this report is not fully credited by our Kansas informant. A railroad freight station is also reported as broken into for the purpose of getting at liquor *in transitu*. Amid all these conflicting reports, what appears to be evident is that the prohibitory law has been put at defiance by lawless liquor-sellers, and laws for the protection of peace and order have been put at defiance by lawless enforcers of the prohibitory law. We sympathize with the objects of the latter, but with the methods of neither disturbers of the peace. During the week Mrs. Stevens, the head of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, has expressed her approval of Mrs. Nation's campaign, but in the main the officers of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, while comparing Mrs. Nation's work with that of John Brown, have deprecated her methods as a species of lynch law. What legal justification she may have under the Kansas statutes cannot be stated with certainty until the Kansas courts pass upon the point.

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Governor Nash and Prize-Fighting

To his lasting credit, Governor Nash, of Ohio, has not only stopped the proposed prize-fight at Cincinnati; he has advised every Mayor and Sheriff in that State that the law is plain and must be enforced. Following his initiative in having the matter brought before the courts, he allowed it to become known that, in case of delays in this direction, he was quite prepared to exercise extreme executive power and call the State troops into action. Last week, however, the fight was permanently enjoined. Judge Hollister, presiding in court, easily disposed of the flimsy contention that the affair was only a "sparring match." He showed conclusively that such heavy-weight champions as Ruhlin and Jeffries were engaged for a genuine prize-fight; that a prize-fight was a public nuisance, a moral wrong, an offense both against society and the law of the State; that a court of equity had entire jurisdiction in the matter, and that it would not allow the fight to occur. It is a cheering sign of civilization that the managers of the fight are said to be in despair of finding any place in this country open to them without legal hindrance, and that they will now be compelled to transfer their brutal exhibition to the lower civilization of Mexico. Even New York City under the present State law bids fair to be free from such prize-fighting exhibitions as have disgraced it in the past.

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The Opening of Parliament

For the first time in many years, the English Parliament was last week opened in person by the sovereign, and the royal address read from the throne. Elaborate ceremonial attended the progress of Edward VII. from Buckingham Palace to Westminster, and in the House of Lords the splendid state dresses of King and Queen, the gorgeous robes of the peers, and the group of peeresses in the gallery, made a brilliant spectacle. Indeed, some English critics are not too well pleased with the emphasis laid on spectacular effects, and in particular find something bordering on the ludicrous in the fact that King Edward and Queen Alexandra rode to Westminster in George the Third's heavily gilded chariot with its plate-glass covering and excessive ornamentation (Tritons, Britannia, crown, scepter, sword, etc., etc.), the whole recalling vividly the Lord Mayor's show, and even, to the irreverent, the parade of a circus. It is noted also that only a few members of the House of Commons could see the proceedings in the House of Lords, and, as one reporter said, even these were "pushed away into an obscure corner of the House of Lords after a tussle and scramble not dissimilar to a football scrimmage, while six-sevenths of the people's representatives were calmly ignored altogether in order that duchesses and countesses, and peers' daughters and aunts, might make the gilded chamber glisten with their diamonds." Minor criticism of this kind aside, the King has admittedly acted with great personal dignity. His speech from the throne was well phrased, and a touch of personal good taste was seen in his refusal to allow the speech to be printed in the press before its actual delivery. There was little or nothing that was novel in the address itself. The war in South Africa is described as "not yet entirely terminated," leading to a call for increased appropriations for army and navy, and for action to increase the efficiency of the forces; the entire submission of the Boers, it is stated, is a prerequisite to the establishing of the institutions which will secure the equal rights of all the white inhabitants and protection and justice for the natives. Chinese affairs, the Ashantee war, the Indian famine, proposed legislation for the voluntary sale by Irish landlords to occupying tenants, proposed labor legislation, are all barely mentioned. The establishment of the Australian Commonwealth is made a subject of congratulation, and reference is made to the proposed visit of the heir to the throne, the Duke of York and Cornwall, to Australia, New Zealand, and Canada.

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Edward VII.'s Oath

On his assumption of kingly dignity last week, Edward VII. repeated the following oath, as his royal ancestors have done before him: "I (Edward) do solemnly and sincerely, and in the presence of God, profess, testify, and declare: I do believe that, in the Sacrament of our Lord's Supper, there is not any transubstantiation of the elements of bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ at or after the consecration thereof by any person whatsoever, and that the invocation or adoration of the Virgin Mary or any other saint, and the sacrifice of the mass, as they are now used in the Church of Rome, are superstitious and idolatrous. . . ." Ten millions of British Roman Catholics are not made more loyal by the use of such phraseology. On the day after the opening of Parliament, thirty Roman Catholic peers of the realm made a formal protest. The Irish Roman Catholic members will introduce a bill calling for the repeal, not only of this, but of other anti-Catholic discriminations. For instance, the Duke of Norfolk, whose official assistance as Marshal was necessary before Edward VII. could ascend his throne, may not be appointed to the Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland, simply because he is a Roman Catholic. Again, the late Lord Russell, Lord Chief Justice of England, and generally reputed the ablest English Chief Justice in a century, could not become Lord Chancellor because he was a Roman Catholic. It is to England's credit that more than seventy years ago members of Parliament were freed from taking this oath, and more than thirty years ago nearly all officers of the State were similarly freed. And while it may be legitimate for England, which is officially a Protestant country, to require of its King an oath to support the Protestant religion, the provocative tone of language such as we have quoted ought to be eliminated from the royal pledge.

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The Chinese Negotiations

The news from the Chinese Court at Singan, capital of the province of Shensi, is not reassuring. It is evident that the Dowager Empress is not only still in power, but is again listening to the malicious advice of her anti-foreign Ministers. She has once more definitely declined to inflict capital punishment on the officials whose deaths have been demanded, except in two cases; and it is believed by the foreign plenipotentiaries that the negotiations must remain at a standstill until after the Chinese New Year festival, which began on Sunday of this week. It seems plain that procrastination will be the order of the day unless she accedes to the demands of the Powers or an invading army marches seven hundred miles from Peking to Singan, and, pursuing the Court into the wilds of the adjoining province of Kansu, finally captures it. Three difficulties would attend this latter course: (1) the region is a mountainous one; (2) the Chinese have abundant means of defense; (3) in any retreat they would have a six weeks' start of the allies. It would indeed be a pity if force must again supersede diplomacy. As might be expected, the Germans are not altogether disappointed at the present condition of affairs; it not only gives them a chance to reap further military glory, with its accompaniment in the shape of a new province or two, but they also feel that their policy both of maintaining large armed forces in China and engaging them in punitive expeditions has now been vindicated. If Chinese territorial integrity is preserved, it will be largely because of the good offices of our own Government. Whatever be the result, there will remain not only the awful savagery of last summer from the Boxers, but the no less shameful outrages committed by foreign troops since then. Herr Bebel was within his right last week in a speech in the German Parliament when he declared that the war in China was the most shameful which Germany had waged in two centuries. He described the immoral conduct of the foreign soldiers, and declared that it was "almost incredible that such bestiality, even lower than that among the beasts, could survive in Christian Germany." A cheering event of the week was the reaffirmation of the French Government's refusal to allow the Chinese loot which had arrived at Marseilles to enter the country. Instead, it ordered its immediate return to China. Less cheering was Count von Waldersee's announcement of an extensive expedition designed to clear the province of Chili of Chinese soldiers and "produce a wholesome dread among the Chinese." General Chaffee has been directed from Washington not to join this demonstration, on the ground that it is ill-advised and not calculated to help on the peace negotiations with China.

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The Boer War

The Boer war has now lasted nearly a year and a half. It has passed through three stages, which may be known after the names of the commanders-in-chief of the British army during those periods—the Buller stage, the Roberts stage, and the Kitchener stage. The first was characterized by disheartening and almost continuous defeat of the British forces. The second stage was opened by the entrance of reinforcements under the most brilliant of British strategists; whereas fighting had been carried on in British colonies, the territories of the two Boer republics were now invaded, their capitals and much of their forces captured. The third stage, despite the generalship of the grim conqueror of the Soudan, has been marked, for the most part, by a return of the Boers to offensive tactics and a consequent reduction of the British again to the defensive. Cape Colony has been invaded at three points, and General De Wet himself led last week's column across the Orange River. The danger is now great enough to elicit the following warning from Sir Alfred Milner:

> It has been said that the enemy would never come to Cape Town; but any one who, in the face of the events of the last few months, will say a thing is impossible because it seems improbable is too silly to be argued with. I am aware that I risk being called an alarmist, but it is better to be called an alarmist than to run any risk. There was a time when it was regarded as impossible for the Boers to penetrate the extreme west and south of Cape Colony, but they have reached one and are within a few miles of the other. Therefore it is necessary to take every precaution. Most men prefer to be called alarmists and to safeguard their property. That is better than to

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be called fine, plucky fellows and to lose your property.

In addition to the thirty thousand mounted infantry ordered by Lord Roberts to proceed to the Cape, Lord Kitchener has appealed to Australia to send back to South Africa the colonial troops invalided home as soon as possible. Last week, in Parliament, Lord Salisbury, British Prime Minister, protested, however, that there was no real ground for the apprehensions expressed by many, but especially by Lord Kimberley, the Liberal leader in the House of Lords, who had declared that the Conservative Cabinet "was living in a fool's paradise." The Premier referred to the length of the Indian Mutiny and to the American Civil War, "between which and the South African campaign there is a great resemblance." It was four years before "the whole efforts of that very intelligent and efficient community, North America," were able to bring the War of Secession to a final and successful issue. If the Boers were allowed to retain any portion of their independence, remarked Lord Salisbury, it would involve incessant, continuous warfare. Unless the British were masters and conquerors of these territories there was no hope of abiding peace, and any other course, he said, would be an avowal to the world that British frontiers could be invaded owing to the powerlessness of the Empire to resist such aggression.

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Servia The death of ex-King Milan calls renewed attention to the unhappy little kingdom called into being after the Russo-Turkish war. Of all the Balkan States, Servia is the one which has manifested the most discouraging conditions. Allied to the Montenegrins by racial ties, the Servians have rarely displayed the sturdy qualities which distinguish the brave mountaineers to the west. It is true the Servians have existed for a quarter of a century or so under a King, but his Royal Highness the Prince of Montenegro is far more of a real monarch than have been the degenerate scions of the House of Obrenovich. Under the nominal sovereignty of Turkey, King Milan's predecessor was a prince only; he was assassinated in 1868. Having been ignominiously defeated by the Sultan's troops eight years later, the Servians in 1877 gladly espoused the cause of Russia in the war between that Power and Turkey. Hence, through Russian influence, the negotiators of the Treaty of Berlin recognized Servian independence and erected the principality into a kingdom. For a time the kingdom seemed to prosper, and by 1885 Milan felt himself strong enough actually to declare war on his neighbor, the brave Prince Alexander of Bulgaria. But, in the campaign which followed, Milan never exposed himself under fire. Alexander not only behaved like the hero he was, but utterly crushed the Servian army. Milan was also distinguished by open acts of shameless profligacy and immorality. Three years after the Bulgarian war a decree of divorce was pronounced between him and his beautiful Queen, Natalie. Public opinion was almost entirely on her side, and a year later it became so overwhelming as to compel the abdication of Milan in favor of his son Alexander, then a twelve-year-old stripling. At that time Milan was known to be a prodigious spendthrift, his debts amounting to millions of dollars; despite this, the Servian Government granted him a princely allowance, that he might live abroad in a style befitting his rank. He attempted several times to return to Servia, and each time succeeded in producing a state of unrest in the little kingdom.

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Carlism in Spain Last week was a momentous one for Spain, evoking as it did violent demonstrations in both the political and religious worlds. The political demonstration was due to the marriage of the Princess of the Asturias, daughter of the Queen Regent, with Prince Charles de Bourbon, son of the Count of Caserta. The Count of Caserta is not only a pretender to the throne of Naples, but is a Carlist by conviction and practice, an abettor of the Spanish pretender, Don Carlos; indeed, if the Spanish Government had fulfilled its strict duty, he would have been arrested at the frontier, on his journey to attend his son's marriage. The Spanish people were incensed at this marriage because, in the event of the death of the little King, his sister would succeed to the throne, and,

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married to one who had undoubtedly inherited his father's principles and prejudices, Spain would be practically under Carlist rule. The ceremony itself was picturesque in following such Spanish customs as spreading a bridal veil over the shoulders of bride and bridegroom as they knelt, and tying a white satin ribbon about their necks, the knot being made between them, signifying their union. Another custom observed was that of giving thirteen coins to the bride by the bridegroom. But no popular fête was permitted, so alarming were the demonstrations outside the royal palace. It was finally found necessary not to permit the people to have free rein. A proclamation was posted announcing the enforcement of martial law, in consequence of the inability of the civil authorities to cope with the disturbances. All persons were prohibited from gathering in groups. Any one found insulting the troops by word or deed, injuring railways, or interfering with workmen was immediately court-martialed. These prompt measures, executed by the Commandant-General at Madrid, General Weyler (well known as the "Cuban butcher"), had their intended effect. General Weyler's character as an intriguer, however, is seen throughout disturbances which he himself may have in some wise fomented, since the mobs have now displayed a significant reliance upon the army. Disappointed in governmental aid towards the revival of industry, and irritated by a Carlist show of power, many Spaniards think that they have found in General Weyler a friend of the people, by reason of his repeated speeches in their behalf. His demagogic arts, however, have undoubtedly been exercised only in order that, if possible, he may repeat the part which General Prim played over thirty years ago, and set himself up as a military Dictator.

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Roman Catholicism in Spain Last week, in the important Spanish cities of Barcelona, Valencia, Alicante, Malaga, Saragossa, and Santander, anti-Jesuit riots occurred in front of Roman Catholic colleges and monasteries. In the last-named city thousands of men forced an entry into the Carmelite convent, from which the monks had fled in terror. The rioters looted everything and set fire to the building. A few persons were killed through the kingdom and many injured. Such loss in life and treasure last week is but slight compared with what one day may be, unless the Roman Catholic Church heeds the warning. The action of the French Government in introducing a bill to check unwarranted political and property aggression on the part of the monks has been noted in Spain. The Spaniards are no longer such an unintelligent folk as formerly; they read the papers, and, since they do not discern any reason to hope for reform from their strongly pro-Catholic government, have themselves instituted a purely popular movement for the abolition of ecclesiastical privileges. They rightly believe these to be incompatible with the public weal. Such a movement is more notable in Spain than it would be in any other country, since, more than any other, Spain has remained most loyal not only to the Roman Catholic Church of to-day, but even to the Roman Catholic Church as it existed in the Middle Ages. The Spanish people, like many another in Europe, are oppressed by taxation, and their burdens are not lightened by the increasing realization that the Jesuits, Carmelites, and other religious orders in Spain hold an enormous amount of property which does not bear its just proportion of taxation. This realization is further embittered by the feeling among the common people that they are being exploited by the Jesuits politically, a feeling accentuated by the circumstances attending the marriage last week of the daughter of the Queen Regent. The Spanish Cortes, or Parliament, has also been reflecting popular sentiment. In one of its recent sessions a deputy announced that the French monks, who expect to be placed under proscription if the law about associations in France is passed, were preparing to transfer their activities to Spain, and his statement was immediately drowned by hostile demonstrations. The most significant of all demonstrations, however, occurred last week at Madrid on the production of "Electra," the new drama by Señor Galdós, the foremost of Spanish writers. Its anti-sacerdotal tone was a touchstone of popular feeling. While it is presumable that in Spain most Roman Catholic

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priests are not only zealous but also high-minded, as much cannot be said for the monks. With them, and with many of the priests also, practical immunity from legal prosecution has now borne its natural fruit.

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Leo XIII. on Socialism

The full text of the Pope's encyclical on Socialism came to hand last week. It is even more interesting than the telegraphic summary recently reported in these columns had led us to suppose. Extremists will not welcome its words. On the one hand, bigoted ultramontanists of the Roman Curia will say in their hearts, if not with their lips, that the present Pope is too much of a Liberal; on the other hand, Socialists will be confirmed in whatever hostility they may have to institutional religion. But we believe that the document incorporates the views of thinking Roman Catholics. The Pope ascribes the rise of Socialism to philosophical and moral error. "With Socialists," says he, "human satisfaction is reckoned supreme, and nothing higher acknowledged than to pursue bodily goods, and those of the natural world." Socialists would "abolish all distinctions of rank, would make every citizen equal to every other, would also give equal access to all of the good things of life, would confiscate private fortunes, and would socialize the appliances of labor." Thus Socialism "cunningly works its way into the heart of the community; in the darkness of secret assemblies and openly by speeches and writings." Socialism "excites the people to sedition; the restraints of religion are thrown aside; duties are neglected, and only rights are upheld. . . . Civil society no less than religion is in peril. . . . Through the malefic influence of agitators, the gulf between rich and poor has been widened, so that frequent disturbances arise, and even great calamities seem impending, such as would bring ruin on a country." Leo XIII. says that the name Christian Socialist is offensive because of its ambiguity; it might indicate "that popular government may be covertly promoted or preferred to other forms of political constitution; the influence of Christianity may seem to be confined to the benefit of the common people, all other ranks being, as it were, left out in the cold." The Pope believes that social problems will not be cured by Socialism.

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Leo XIII. on Christian Democracy

Christian democracy is by the Pope strongly differentiated from Socialism. Its foundation is "the principles laid down by divine faith, having regard, indeed, to the temporal advantage of the lower orders, but designing therewith to fit their minds for the enjoyment of things eternal." In their desire to promote the good of the lower orders, however, Christian democrats should not forget the divine law of charity which forbids "paying so much regard to the interests of the lower classes as to seem to pass over the higher, who are nevertheless of equal importance to the preservation and development of the State." The Pope reminds the faithful that "all ranks belong to one and the same family; they are the offspring of the same all-beneficent Father," and he quotes in his support Ephesians iv., 4–6. He declares that the social question is not economic merely. First of all, he says, it is moral and religious. "Suppose the productiveness of capital doubled, the hours of labor shortened, food cheap; yet if the wage-earner listens to teaching . . . which tends to destroy reverence for the Deity and to corrupt morals, his labor, too, necessarily deteriorates, his earnings fail. It is found by practical experience that many a workman lives . . . miserably, in spite of shorter hours and higher wages, because his character is bad and because religion has no hold upon him." The Pontiff declares that he has never encouraged the faithful to form associations for the assistance of the poor or to introduce other schemes of the kind, without at the same time warning them that such things must not be attempted except with the sanction of religion. "No doubt," he adds, "Socialists carp at this and would have it altogether abolished as derogative to the native ability of man." Yet benefactions, carried out in a Christian manner, "neither feed the pride of the distributer nor inflict any humiliation on the recipient." The Pope commends not merely the relief of the temporary needs of the poor; he would also have an organized system of relief. After devoting a long paragraph to hearty sym-

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pathy with organized charity, he declares that the harvest of miseries demanding that charity is made greater by the growing strength of Socialistic opinion, and warns against the pitfalls set for the poor and lowly by agitators and demagogues. In this warning Leo XIII. declares that not only should established order be maintained and lawful rulers obeyed; he also declares that the faithful must be entirely submissive to episcopal authority, being "ready to give up their own ideas and to listen to the bidding of the rulers of the Church." Thus in its effect Leo's encyclical is a plea for the authority of the Church of which he is the honored head.

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The Westminster Confession

The present indications are that the agitation for a revision of the Westminster Confession will result either in nothing or in a supplemental explanation leaving the Confession unchanged. Such an explanation, it is urged, would leave to the stubborn conservatives their cherished Westminster Confession in its entirety, while to the great majority of Presbyterians, more broad-minded and warmer-hearted, it would give a chance to express their convictions in an amended creed. If such an event should come to pass—and the action at Washington last week would indicate it—the Presbyterian Church will be more sharply divided than hitherto into two distinct parties. The action at Washington was that of the Committee appointed by the last Presbyterian General Assembly to report upon the movement looking towards confessional changes. Summarizing the reports of the Presbyteries in answer to the Committee's questions, the Committee, sitting at Washington, now makes majority and minority reports. In both, the subject of the revision of the Westminster Confession is ignored. Instead, an unrestricted supplemental explanatory statement is recommended by the majority of the Committee. The minority recommend only such a supplemental statement as shall harmonize with the system of doctrines contained in the Westminster Confession. It would seem, therefore, that when the General Assembly meets in May, it will probably be informed that no mandate is forthcoming from the Presbyteries to touch the text of the Confession.

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The Index Expurgatorius

The new edition of the Roman Catholic "Index Expurgatorius" differs from all preceding editions. As he says in the preamble, the Pope now applies certain modifications to the old proscriptions—modifications conforming to the spirit of the times. Notwithstanding this amnesty, however, enough books still remain under the ban to reach a total of considerably over three thousand. As may be imagined, the Index is particularly interesting as regards French works. It includes certain names which have been supposed to lend undimmed luster to the Roman Catholic Church; among such are those of Bossuet, Fénelon, and Pascal. Among the great French philosophers, Montaigne is condemned for his "Essais," Descartes for his "Meditations," and Malebranche for several works. All the philosophers of the eighteenth century come under the ban. While Thiers's History of the French Revolution is omitted from the Index, that by Mignet is included. The most conspicuous place in the Index, however, is held by French nineteenth-century novelists. Balzac naturally is banned, and even Lamartine is found offensive. Victor Hugo is condemned for "Les Misérables" and for "Notre Dame de Paris," but nothing is said about "'93." Such writers as George Sand, Flaubert, Eugene Sue, Ernest Feydeau, the two Dumas, and Émile Zola are stricken down, the last with the words, "All his works."

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The Mid-Continent Congress of Religion

The second annual meeting of this body was held in the Fullerton Avenue Presbyterian Church, Chicago, January 23 and 24. The representation included Jews and Christians, Trinitarians and Unitarians. While strongly affirming the inclusiveness of the one religious spirit, the emphasis of the meeting was laid upon the ethical and social interests of religion. Thus it was of the same practical type as the recent New York State Conference of Religion. A correspondent writes that the Congress, both in spirit and in effect, was highly satisfactory to its promoters. Among the topics discussed were "The Four Dimensions of

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Religion," "Sociology as the Antidote to Sectarianism," "The Preparation of the Nineteenth Century for Social Service in the Twentieth."

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Maurice Thompson The death of Mr. Maurice Thompson at his home in Crawfordsville, Ind., on Friday of last week was not unexpected, but the fact that it had been anticipated for several weeks hardly broke the shock which it brought to a great number of friends and a greater number of readers throughout the country. Mr. Thompson was an American writer to the very heart; a lover of American character, American ideals, and the American country. Born in Maryland in 1844, educated in Georgia as a civil engineer, but with excellent training in French, Greek, and Latin, he entered the Confederate army. At the close of the Civil War he became Chief Engineer of an Indiana railroad, and at a later day began the practice of law at Crawfordsville. He was elected to the Legislature of Indiana in 1878; ten years later he was a delegate to the National Democratic Convention; and from 1885 to 1899 he was State Geologist of Indiana. The exploration of Lake Okeechobee in Florida in 1867 was an event of great importance in his life. It gave him wide acquaintance with birds, animals, and plants in that locality, and led to other explorations of the same kind in the islands of southern Louisiana, the hill country of Alabama, Mississippi, and Georgia, the Okefinokee swamp, and other sections of great interest from the geological and ornithological point of view. His habits as a scientific investigator gave greater value to his observations as a naturalist and a poet, for he was a born lover of nature no less than a trained student of her methods. When he began to write, the range of his knowledge of nature showed itself at once; to this accurate knowledge he added the poet's instinct for beautiful and significant things and the poet's freshness of feeling, as well as the poet's charm of touch. He wrote prose and verse with almost equal facility and with equal excellence. At the very moment when he had become a popular writer through the wide interest in "Alice of Old Vincennes," his career has come to an end. There are other works of his, however, which are much more valuable than this popular novel. Some of his short stories have had a touch of reality and of humor, a freshness and vitality, which promise to give them long life; some of his verse had kindred qualities of permanent interest. He was an exceedingly industrious man, adding to his multifarious tasks for years past the work of the literary editor of the New York "Independent." Passing away in the very prime of life and at the very moment when it seemed as if the greater opportunities and rewards were within his hand, he met death with unflinching courage and with that cheerfulness which was one of his prime qualities. Those who knew him best loved him most; this is perhaps the finest tribute to his character.

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Home Gardening The workers at the Goodrich Social Settlement in Cleveland have long been successful in awakening an interest in the culture of flowers among their neighborhood people. By individual efforts they justified their belief that, if each household performed its part, not only orderliness and cleanliness but also beauty would assert their supremacy over the disorder and dirt characteristic of many crowded city neighborhoods. A year ago these workers conceived the capital idea of extending their endeavor and reaching, through the public-school children, all the crowded neighborhoods of the city. They sent a circular to the school-teachers, and the appeal met with immediate approval and co-operation. The plan adopted was to supply penny packages of easily grown flowering annuals, to be sold to such pupils as wished to purchase them. A choice of nine varieties of flowers was given—nasturtiums, four-o'-clocks, morning-glories, coreopsis, larkspurs, zinnias, marigolds, bachelor's-buttons, and calendulas. When the returns came, it was found that nearly fifty thousand packages had been bought. The teachers gave short talks upon the preparation of soil, the effects of sunshine and shade upon plants, and the proper times for watering. These talks both preceded and were concurrent with the planting of the seeds. On each package also some suggestions to the child were printed. The sale of the penny packages covered the cost of the

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seeds, envelopes, putting them up, printing, and all expenses. Last summer a circular was sent out asking for a report of the success of the seed-planting. A multitude of answers was the result. Enthusiasm was manifested in many ways, and the consequent flower shows held in several buildings throughout the city gave evidence that at least three-quarters of the plantings were successful. Even where the children were not successful no discouragement was expressed. They felt that a trial had been made, and that, with perseverance, success would come another year. For example, one child reported that the chickens had scratched up his seeds, but that next year he should sow his seeds in boxes and put them where they would be safe from such intruders. The idea of thrift was also evidenced in the spontaneous gathering of seed from the plant, so as to provide a garden on a more extensive scale another season. But the greatest good accomplished was in the efforts of children to make others happy with the flowers. Last year's success was so great that a further extension of this exemplary work is planned for the present year, increasing its sociological importance to the entire community.

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The Philippine Question

The Philippine question is partly one of facts, partly one of political principles. In order to obtain for ourselves and our readers accurate information as to the present status, political and military, of affairs in the islands, we last December requested Mr. George Kennan to go to Washington and make such examination as was possible of the official reports on file in the War Office, and obtain such direct information as he could by conference with army officers and others, and give the results of his investigations to our readers. Our purpose in this inquiry we can best indicate by a quotation from the letter written to Mr. Kennan in December asking him to make the investigation: "We do not care in the least whether the facts ascertained make for or against the Administration, whether they make for or against the position heretofore taken by The Outlook. We want to state the absolute truth, whoever it hits, whatever it affects." It is in this spirit that the investigation has been undertaken; and in this spirit it has been met by the Administration. Mr. Kennan at once received the assurance from the highest authority in government circles, "We have nothing to conceal, and want you to have everything we have," and this assurance has been entirely fulfilled. Mr. Kennan's reputation is a guarantee that every advantage has been taken by him of the full facilities put at his service. We reserve editorial comments on his reports of results until the reports themselves are before our readers. It must suffice here simply to quote from Mr. Kennan's article in this issue a sentence confirming what both the Schurman and the Taft Commission have affirmed, and what The Outlook has editorially urged: "After reading all that has been written on the subject in the official reports, private letters, and public documents accessible to me, I am of opinion that the Filipinos want, first of all, a definite, authoritative, and absolutely trustworthy statement of our aims and intentions, . . . from the only authority that is competent to give such an assurance, namely, the Congress of the United States."

We are glad to see that Congress is beginning to recognize its responsibility in this matter. We reported last week the Spooner amendment to the Army Appropriation Bill. It provides for the immediate establishment of civil government in the Philippines, guarantees the people the free enjoyment of their liberty, property, and religion, and guards against the possible exploitation of the islands through permanent franchises granted by a provisional government. Mr. Brown's resolution, offered in the House, and reported on another page, goes further, and declares the purpose of the United States to "relinquish sovereignty in these islands" when a capable and stable free government shall have been established. The Outlook does not believe in Mr. Brown's resolution, for three reasons: (1) It is rarely wise for an individual and still more rarely wise for a nation to commit itself beforehand to a future course of action. "Cross the bridge when you come to it" is a wise motto. (2) It is by no means certain that when a capable free and stable government is established, the

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Filipinos will wish to relinquish the advantages which the sovereignty of the United States might confer upon them. (3) Making such a pledge now will keep perpetually before them the idea that United States sovereignty is a dishonor to them, because a sign of their pupilage, and will keep perpetually open the question whether the time has not come for the withdrawal of our sovereignty and the declaration of their independence. We should prefer, if any pledge is to be made, that it should be a pledge to enter into negotiations with them as soon as peace and order are restored, with a view to determine the final relations between the United States and the Philippine community, upon a basis mutually acceptable. One thing is very certain—namely, that after a capable and stable free government is established, the people of the United States will not consent to maintain any sovereignty over the islands which the islanders themselves resist. The American people have gone to the Philippines as emancipators. In our judgment, they will not leave the Philippines until the work of emancipation is completed and the islands are free from anarchy as well as from foreign despotism; nor will they remain there after that work of emancipation is completed, unless the inhabitants of the islands themselves become proud of the title American, and desire the protection and the prestige of the American flag.

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The Future of Austria

A new Reichsrath, or Austrian Parliament, has now assembled. In his speech from the throne the Emperor called attention to the death of two allies during the past year. As a member of the Triple Alliance, King Humbert of Italy was a formal ally. Queen Victoria's friendship for Francis Joseph, however, had for many years been a matter of history, and an element always to be reckoned with by European diplomatists. No formal alliance ever existed between Austria and England during the Victorian Age, but it is known by those conversant with the deepest currents of contemporary politics that the silent influence of two of the most venerable and venerated monarchs in Europe not only preserved peace between Austria and England, but did much to preserve peace elsewhere. It was, therefore, a disheartening circumstance that, at the opening of the Reichsrath, the President's address, paying deserved honor to the Queen, should have been interrupted by the derisive cries of the obstructionists who hindered legislation in the preceding Reichsrath. Not only did they choose a distressing occasion to cry, "Down with the miserable British robbers!" but some members even interjected insulting remarks concerning a noble woman. Finally, upon the conclusion of the President's address, the Moderates, many of whom sympathize with the Boers, rose from their seats and left the House. Their action was approved by all of the sober Vienna papers, and there was an indignant protest from those papers against the gross violation of propriety which had made such summary action necessary.

As we have hinted, the demeanor of the Abgeordnetenhaus (the Chamber of Deputies, or Lower House of the Austrian Reichsrath) had become a byword. Finally, last September, the patience of even that most patient man, the Emperor, came to an end, and he ordered a new election. Nor was this all. He remarked significantly that this election would be "the last constitutional means" employed by his Government. In other words, if the new Abgeordnetenhaus repeated the practices of the old, he would dismiss it and govern without any Reichsrath. Of course, in this case, he would suspend the constitution. It would be the irony of history if the present reckless spirit of Austrians who half a century ago had compelled Francis Joseph to establish a constitution should now compel him to do away with it.

It has seemed surprising that the Kaiser has not already been driven to violate his constitutional pledge. One strong reason holding him in check has undoubtedly been his feeling that the Hungarian compact would be endangered. Hungary is really now the more important of the two members of the Imperial Federation, and, as is well known, the legal maintenance of that federation depends upon the maintenance of the constitution. So great is the popularity of Francis Joseph, however, that we should not be surprised to see an exhibition of personal loyalty from his

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Hungarian subjects—a loyalty which his successor could probably never evoke. While condemning the Emperor for breaking the constitution; the Hungarians would, likely enough, applaud their King—one and the same person. Even the Hungarian Prime Minister (with one exception, perhaps the ablest statesman of Continental Europe) has more than once hinted that Hungary has no desire to insist on technicalities, that she is willing to accept the logic of facts.

While the recent exhibition of bad manners might indicate that the record of the Lower House of the Austrian Parliament may be no better than its past record—the passage of one law in four years—there are two rifts in the dark cloud which has so long settled over Vienna. The recent election gratifyingly resulted in the lessening both of Clerical and of Anti-Semite influence. The former has long dominated Austria; the latter, within the past decade, and it may be said to represent a commercial rather than a religious or racial sentiment. Those heretofore popular leaders, Prince Aloys Liechtenstein and Dr. Lueger (Mayor of Vienna), will now no longer command a majority of deputies. Even the Czechs, agitating for the independence of Bohemia and at least for the wider use of the Bohemian language, can now command a majority only by fusing with the above-named faction.

The check to the Clericals and to Jew-baiters, when we think of the future of Austria, is, however, not so significant as is the gain made by the Pan-German party. From a membership of only five it has now risen to a membership of twenty-one. With its near ally, the German People's party, there will be a total membership of over sixty in the Reichsrath, working more or less openly for secession and incorporation with the German Empire. As a preparatory measure, some extremists in this party actually advocate the wholesale conversion of the German population of Austria to Protestantism! The future of the Austro-Hungarian Empire is therefore threatened by a new disintegrating peril—Pan-Germanism, which may one day unite all Austria north of Hungary to Germany, the House of Hapsburg acquiring, as a set-off, Servia, Macedonia, and Salonica.

Authority in Religion

We print on another page a letter from a correspondent on the subject of authority in religion. Without attempting to give a categorical reply to all his questions, we here restate what we regard as the answer to the general question, in such a way as will, we trust, serve as a reply, at least by implication, to his more specific queries.

The general question is, Where is the final authority in religion to be looked for, within or without the soul? It cannot be looked for both within and without, for there cannot be two final and supreme authorities. We have no doubt that the supreme and final authority is within. If the external authority teaches or appears to teach one doctrine, and the conscience and the reason a different one, the man must follow his reason and his conscience. If the Church teaches that the world is flat and the sun and stars revolve about it, or that it is right to burn or hang heretics, and the individual's reason teaches that the world is a globe and revolves around the sun, and that it is wrong to attempt to extirpate heresy by fire and sword, he must follow the latter teaching despite the teaching of the Church. If the Bible teaches or appears to teach that the world was made in six days, or that God approved the indiscriminate slaughter of the Canaanites, and the individual's reason teaches that the world was indefinite ages in making, and that the indiscriminate slaughter of the Canaanites cannot be justified, he must conclude that for him the Bible is in so far an imperfect guide.

The Church and the Bible are authorities, in so far as they are authorities, only because their testimony to truth and righteousness commends itself to the reason and the conscience. It is wrong to steal, not because the Bible says Thou shalt not steal, but because this law finds a similar law "written," as Paul says, "in the heart." The soul responds to this law that it is just and good; and this response of the soul gives to the written law its authority. From the same source Christ derives the evidence of his authority. Not infrequently he appeals directly to the conscience of his hearers and awaits their response, as when, after telling the story

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of the good Samaritan, he asks, Who was neighbor to him that fell among thieves? Sometimes he indirectly evokes this response, as when he provokes the rich young ruler to ask the question, What lack I yet? Sometimes the simple affirmation of a principle is made and the soul is left to think it over and recognize its spiritual truth, as in the word, But I say unto you, Love your enemies. Christ does not create laws; he does not issue them as a sovereign issues edicts; he interprets to the soul the laws of God, because he interprets to the soul the laws of its own nature as God has made it, and the soul recognizes the truth of the interpretation.

This principle is as applicable to the Confucian and the Buddhist as to the Christian. They also must be governed by their own inner light. The Christian missionary must show them that much of Christ's teaching is in harmony with the best teaching of their own great teachers; he must also show them that much of Christ's teaching, and even more of the spirit of his life, is in harmony with unconscious desires and aspirations of their nature which their teachers have never discovered. If the missionary can do this, he succeeds; if he cannot do this, if instead he demands allegiance to a Christ so interpreted that the Chinaman finds in him nothing to satisfy the aspirations of his own soul, the missionary fails.

It is true that this inner light is not infallible. There is no infallible guide; an infallible guide would be an injury, not a benefit, to man. Where man has believed in an infallible guide, he has stopped growing—that is, he has stopped true living. A wise father does not attempt to give his children infallible guidance; he throws them on their own resources, requires them to answer their own questions and act on their own judgment. Thus their judgments are formed. Life is more important than truth; truth is only an instrument for the development of life; and man acquires life, and in the end acquires truth, better by finding it out for himself than by having it found out for him and given to him by an infallible teacher, whether within or without.

The doctrine that the final authority in matters of religion is external to man has been the foundation of what is called religious persecution. The argument is very simple, thus: The Church is the final authority; it is the duty of the individual to submit to this final authority; he has no right to follow his own reason and his own conscience into error; still less has he a right to lead others to reject the final authority and follow him into error; to do this is to introduce chaos for order, anarchy for law; it must be prevented, and whatever punishments are necessary to prevent this disaster must be inflicted. The answer, and the only adequate answer, to this argument is, The Church is not a final authority; the Bible is not a final authority; they are counselors; but they cannot for any man take the place of his own reason and his own conscience; that reason and that conscience he must cultivate by every means in his power; but that reason and that conscience he must follow, for they are his ultimate guides; to his own Master every soul must give account for himself at last—no Church can render the account for him.

This we understand to be the true doctrine of the final authority in religion.

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The Sovereignty of Character

The striking fact about the expression of admiration for Queen Victoria, which has taken on so many forms, has not been the recognition of her great position; it has been a tribute to the sovereignty of character rather than to the sovereignty of power. It has been singularly free from adulation, from deference to mere rank, from any special regard to the show and trappings of a great place; it has been a singularly spontaneous expression of admiration for a woman of power, a life of immense industry, and of the best possible influence exerted from the vantage-ground of a great place. The success of the Queen was due chiefly, it is conceded on all sides, not to her intellect (though that was of a high order), but to her character; and rarely in the whole history of the world has there been a finer illustration of the fact that the determining factor is, after all, moral rather than intellectual, and that nothing finally succeeds in this

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world save that which is wrought out in obedience to the higher laws of life. Newspapers and books and familiar conversation among men are often touched by a certain cheap cynicism, a certain shallow moralization. It is the custom to say that the cheap thing succeeds; that the vulgar thing is the fashion; that one must truckle and placate and flatter in order to win success and influence. In individual cases, for a short space of time in securing close-at-hand results, these mean and paltry arts and qualities are sometimes successful; but in the long run this philosophy of life is as untrue as it is ignoble.

Talent does command recognition; character does secure confidence; noble life does lay the foundations of a great influence. There are no short-cuts to lasting success; there are no substitutes for genuine ability; there are no equivalents for a noble character. These facts ought to be written in the heart of the race as they are written in the very heart of history. Inferior ends are successfully served by vulgar methods, lower prizes are secured by selfish men, but this ought not to confuse the mind of any one who looks at life broadly and sanely.

Men may sometimes be deceived for a time by a specious success, but they are not deceived in the long run. The man who hoodwinks others is never able to hoodwink himself; and not for one moment is the mind of God confused by the tricks, the chicanery, or the adroitness of the merely clever and unscrupulous. Nothing really pays, in the highest and noblest sense of the word, except goodness; nothing really succeeds unless it deserves to succeed, and nothing endures that is not genuine and noble. In every great career of a mixed character the world speedily learns to detect the mean and the false, and separate it from the good. The wheat and the tares grow together, but they are divided, the one from the other, long before the ultimate harvesting.

Let no man be deceived or deceive himself. It is only the good who will survive, it is only the noble who are really great; and nothing is worth while in this world, either in obscure or great places, but honesty, unselfishness, purity, and devotion.

The Spectator

"A newspaper reporter who simply knows how to tell the truth in plain language would have a poor chance on any metropolitan daily at the present time." The ex-newspaper man leaned forward in his easy chair—ex-newspaper men are more likely to have easy chairs, and to rest easily in them, than those who are still in the harness—as he made this remark, and punctuated it by filliping a fountain pen which was his inseparable plaything. To this statement the Spectator demurred a little, with the gratifying result that the remark was amplified. "When a new reporter is hired on a metropolitan daily, the editor informs him that he is to tell only the truth, and above all things to avoid fakes. But if the new reporter's copy doesn't show that he has ability as a fiction-writer, he fails to keep his place. Only the other day a friend of mine, a conscientious, straightforward man, who could 'see straight and think clear,' was called to the desk of his superior on a city daily and lectured because his copy didn't have enough fiction in it. 'Your stories haven't enough life in them,' was the way it was put. 'But they have all the life there is in the facts,' was the reporter's excuse. 'It makes no difference as to that,' was the ultimatum; 'you must get more life into your copy or go.'"

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These remarks may possibly have been prompted to some extent by the fact that their author was one of the "exes," and therefore spoke as one who has left a hard school; but the Spectator supposes that the very word "story," used by newspaper men to describe a reporter's account of an occurrence, lends a certain color to this assertion that there is a demand for the art of the fictionist on the part of the papers. A bare recital of facts is not acceptable, except perhaps on a backwoods newspaper, if there are any such. The city daily must employ writers first of all who know how to tell stories. Dullness is to the beginning-of-the-century editor the deadliest of sins. He wants news, of course, and must have it at any cost; but the news must be presented with art and skill. A Taine should gather the facts, and a De Maupassant should write them up; but if the able editor has to choose

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between the two, it seems that he would take De Maupassant for his aide.

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"Reporters," said the ex-newspaper man, resuming his comfortable position, "may not want to write fiction, for as a class they average about as well as any of us in honesty of purpose, but they are simply compelled to do more or less imaginative writing in getting up their stories. Suppose, for instance, a man is run over by a cable-car. There is not one chance in ten thousand that the reporter has seen the accident. He hears about it a couple of hours later, through the medium of the police station blotter. This will give the name, perhaps, of the victim and of the gripman, the time and locality of the accident, and where the body was taken if the man was killed. What is the reporter to make of this? It is late at night. The gripman is in jail, the policeman who arrested him is off duty and asleep, the man who was run over is dead, and yet copy must be ready in half an hour. Inquiry in the neighborhood will only result in finding some one who will say, 'Oh, yes, I believe there was somebody run over down the street; I didn't see it.' The reporter knows how such accidents generally occur, and he 'fakes up' an interesting yarn about it, spinning his story around the single fact or two which is all he has, but which would not be regarded as worthy of publication in the bare detail. He learns to do this unconsciously and by instinct, elaborating the slender details into a symmetrical and consistent story; but if you will compare reports of the same occurrence in different newspapers, you will see how much is often made of a mere skeleton of news.

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"It is so, too, to a certain extent, with the more important news. The telegraphic reports are filled out and expanded, perhaps legitimately enough in most cases, but the news doesn't come over the wires just as you read it, by any means. And sometimes telegraphic news *has* to be made at home. When all the wires are down, after a great storm, how is the news to be obtained? It simply has to be published or the other fellows will get a beat on you, and that is the newspaper man's unpardonable sin of omission. Better a thousand fakes to your discredit than one beat. Take the St. Louis tornado, for instance, a few years ago. How did some of the papers get their accounts of that event when the wires weren't in shape for twenty-four hours after the tornado? Somebody who knew St. Louis and tornadoes by previous experience had to fill up the details of the 'story' about it. And, as I remember the accounts, the right man was found, the story was well told, and the dear public read it with great gusto. Don't think that newspapers, as a rule, 'fake up' news. But the exigencies of the business are such, the rivalry is so keen, that more or less of fiction-writing is indispensable on most 'live' newspapers."

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The Spectator once knew a man in commercial life who lamented the impossibility of absolute candor and truth-telling in his business dealings. "But," said he, apologetically, "I make it a rule never to lie more than the exigencies of my business require." The Spectator was reminded of this remark by the observations of the newspaper man. A fictitious quality in the telling of the news is demanded by the public, which asks for "brightness" and "life" in its news stories, just as it demands a cheerful manner on the part of its doctors or a professional smile on the faces of its chorus-girls. As if this were not enough, the public insists on getting its news, all dressed up in this fashion, within twenty-four hours after it is born. With a demand on the part of the public for story-writing and for eleventh-hour news, and on the part of publishers for sensational features that will sell the paper, ought we to be surprised that we are living in an era of "yellow journalism"? Ought we not rather to congratulate ourselves that there are so much truth-telling and so much conscience in the newspaper world, the "exigencies of the business" being what they are?

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It seems to be a fact, however, that the biggest circulations are not altogether built up through the literary quality of news stories. The New York dailies that tell the best stories about actual happenings have not nearly as large circulations as some of their less scholarly rivals. It is not so much cleverly told stories as start-

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ling "sensations," exaggerated emphasis on really trivial incidents, and a free use of wood type, that boom the circulation. If a reporter can dig out material for these things, he is said to be more valued by the metropolitan paper than is the merely gifted writer. Where a man has the nose for sensations and also the pen of a littérateur, the prizes of the profession are at his feet, even if he does keep his publisher busy compromising libel suits.

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Everything moves in cycles, and who knows but that by the end of the twentieth century we shall have lost our love of newspaper "stories" and returned to the simple presentation of facts which characterized the earlier days of the newspaper? This may seem improbable, but even now there are signs that one of the earlier fashions of journalism is coming in again. In London's first successful daily paper, "The Courant," its editor announced, after speaking of his desire to give his readers opportunity to judge of the credibility of his news, "Nor will the editor take upon himself to give any comments, supposing other people to have sense enough to make reflexions for themselves." The growing subordination of the editorial to the news features in some of our daily papers is perhaps prophetic of a reversion to this early policy of Samuel Buckley, news-gatherer, editor, and publisher of "The Daily Courant." Stranger things than such a reversion have happened in the nineteenth century, and may happen in the twentieth.

The Philippines: Present Conditions and Possible Courses of Action.—I.[1]

By George Kennan

IT is my purpose in this and two subsequent articles to set forth, as fully and at the same time as briefly as possible, the results of an inquiry which, at the request of The Outlook, I have made in Washington with regard to the present state of affairs in the Philippine Islands, and the views of men best qualified to judge as to the nature and possible solution of the Philippine problem.

My instructions from the Editor of The Outlook debar me from anything like a review of the history of our troubles in the Philippines, and limit me to a statement of the facts of the existing situation, as shown by official reports, public documents, personal interviews, telegrams, private letters, and the records of the War Department.

As a newspaper man, I undertook this investigation without political or partisan bias of any kind, and, as a citizen, I had, and have, no other desire or feeling than the wish and hope that we may finally solve the Philippine problem in such a way as to reflect honor upon the Nation and credit upon the officers and representatives now intrusted with the control and guidance of National policy.

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In order to present the result of my inquiries in an orderly manner, I shall consider:

I. The character of the Filipinos.

II. Their wishes, aspirations, and demands.

III. The nature and extent of the hostility that they manifest toward Americans.

IV. The existing military and political situation, as shown by late reports, official documents, telegrams, and private letters.

V. Suggestions from various sources as to the best policy to be pursued.

VI. A forecast of possibilities, probabilities, and tendencies.

The first thing that strikes an unprejudiced investigator of the Philippine question is the contradictory and irreconcilable nature of the evidence and testimony concerning the facts. There is hardly a phase or a feature of the subject with regard to which there is unanimity—or anything like unanimity—of statement and judgment. The character of the Filipinos; the nature of their demands; the extent and real significance of their hostility; the progress of the work of pacification; and the policy to be pursued in the present exigency, are all questions that appear to be still unsettled, if not

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actually in dispute. Such being the case, the only course open to the impartial investigator is to give the evidence on all sides as fully and fairly as possible, and then state his own conclusions for what they may be worth. My conclusions, in the present controversy, may possibly be entitled to some weight, for the reason that I am not at liberty, in many cases, to indicate definitely the sources of my information, and I am therefore in a better position to judge as to the credibility of the testimony than the uninformed reader can possibly be. I regret that this is so, because many of the statements that I shall have occasion to make would gain greatly in force and authority if I could reveal the personality that is behind them. Unfortunately, there are obvious reasons why I cannot do this, and I must therefore ask the reader to believe that, although I do not always give names, I quote only those observers whose testimony, in my judgment, is entitled to serious consideration, if not to implicit belief.

With this short but necessary explanation, I invite attention first to—

I. The character of the Filipinos. One of the earliest statements that we have with regard to the character of the Filipinos is that contained in a telegram sent to this Government by Admiral Dewey in 1899, in which he said: "They" (the Filipinos) "are far superior in their intelligence and more capable of self-government than the natives of Cuba. I am familiar with both races, and further intercourse with them has confirmed me in this opinion."

In January, 1899, Mr. Ogden E. Edwards, an American merchant who lived thirty-six years in the Philippines, who spoke the Tagal language as well as Spanish, and who visited all parts of the archipelago, had an interview in Washington with Mr. John R. Procter, President of the Civil Service Commission, in which he (Mr. Edwards) described the character of the Filipinos as follows:

"In the first place, they are conservative. What has been suits them better than a change. You can get along with them best by paying some attention to what they are accustomed to. I found it easy to deal with them when they were treated kindly and justly. They have an exalted idea of good breeding, and although, like all Malays, they are a fighting race, there is no trouble in getting along with them if foreigners do not meddle with their women. They are honest, too, in their way. I once saw going through the country a specie train, consisting of ten horses, every one of them laden with two bags of $1,000 each in coin. There were only two men conducting the horses, and one guard armed with a halberd. I was surprised that the specie should be left entirely in charge of only three men; but I learned that for thirty years there had never been a robbery of money sent in that way.

"During my residence in the Philippines, the country was generally quiet and peaceful. In 1851 the Spanish Government had there only seven battalions of native infantry, two squadrons of native cavalry for ornamental purposes, and twelve hundred Spanish artillerymen. These last were the only Spanish troops they had in the archipelago.

"I do not think that any part of the islanders are fit, at present, for the exercise of legislative authority. They have got to be governed from above, and not governed by themselves as yet. We must teach them—but not as the Spaniards did."

This testimony seems to me to be entitled to great weight, for the reason that it comes from a man of high personal character who had exceptional opportunities for observation. It shows what the Filipinos were before they revolted against the friars and the corrupt tyranny of Spain.

Mr. Albert G. Robinson, the correspondent in the Philippines of the New York "Evening Post," who impresses me as a close and accurate observer with a slight pro-Filipino bias, says: "They" (the Filipinos) "have their own ideas of society, suited to their temperament and environment. In social morals they are above the average. They are courteous and hospitable, by the evidence of those who knew them in times of peace; and even during the time of war many Americans have been the recipients of a kindly hospitality at Filipino hands and under Filipino roofs. In education the Filipino needs little encouragement to avail himself of all that may be opened to him. The closest observers set them down as peaceable and peace-loving, rather than bloodthirsty and quarrelsome. Their

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fighting has not been done for the sake of or the love for fighting, but has been their protest against injustice and oppression—the struggle of crude patriots rather than of crude and warlike men. I cannot feel that it would be wise, or right, immediately, to leave these people to the sole conduct of their own affairs; yet, unless some marked improvement be shown in American methods, there can be little doubt that they would get along by themselves quite as well as with American interference."

General MacArthur, Commander-in-Chief of the Division of the Philippines, reports to the Adjutant-General under date of October 1, 1900, that "the Filipinos are not a warlike or ferocious people," and that "although the bands of insurgent guerrillas are not soldiers in the true sense of that word, it is a mistake to classify them as ladrones, or armed robbers." The Filipinos generally he characterizes as "sensitive, intelligent, generous, and flexible." In the organization of local administration he declares that "they have evinced such intelligent capacity as to encourage the expectation of rapid progress in the art of self-government when the larger political administrations are organized." In the matter of education he describes them as "eager to receive at once all that can be imparted," and adds that "this almost universal aspiration for education should appeal strongly to American sympathy."

All this, it will be observed, is very much to the credit of the Filipino; but the assertions made in the above citations are by no means in harmony with the statements made by the Schurman Commission, the Taft Commission, General Otis, and a number of army officers now serving in the Philippines whose private letters I have read. According to the report of the Schurman Commission, the Filipinos whose provisional administration was broken up by the advance of our armies were robbers, ravishers, and murderers. Their government, the Commission says, "served only for plundering the people. . . . The administration of justice was paralyzed, and crime of all sorts was rampant. Might was the only law. Never in the worst days of Spanish misrule had the people been so overtaxed or so badly governed. In many provinces there was absolute anarchy, and from all sides came petitions for protection and help. The insurgents robbed, fired on peaceful citizens, and maltreated women."

The Taft Commission, in its first preliminary report, dated August 17, 1900, declared that the insurgents were terrorizing the peaceable natives by the cutting out of tongues, lopping off of limbs, burying alive, murder, and plunder. In its latest report, dated November 30, 1900, the Commission says that the insurrection "has for its indispensable support a conspiracy of murder. Any one suspected of giving information to the Americans concerning the insurgents is immediately marked for assassination. The ramifications of the conspiracy are so wide that it has effected the terrorism of an entire people. It is a Mafia on a very large scale."

General Otis, in his last report, dated May 14, 1900, asserted that the native scouts and police in the service of the United States were ruthless and cruel; that they did not regard looting as a crime at all, and that they often resorted to torture as a means of eliciting a confession.

Corporal E. W. Tanner, of Company E, Thirty-fifth United States Volunteers, in a private letter to his father in Washington, declares, as a matter of personal knowledge, that two of Lieutenant Godson's native police were captured by the Filipinos, buried up to their necks in an old church, and left there until they died of thirst and starvation.

A trustworthy officer of the regular army in the Philippines, in a private letter to a high official of the Government, which I have read, says: "The crimes committed by the insurgents are dreadful. One crime, of which I have personal knowledge, was the burial of a young man alive. His murderers notified his family of the manner of his death, but refused to allow his body to be moved to consecrated ground. This happened within two miles of a garrisoned town, and was only accidentally discovered. In another instance a young girl, who resisted abduction, seized the gun of her captor and shot herself. The girl's father upbraided the captor, who immediately shot and killed the father, and then moved on with his band."

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Speaking of the character of the Filipinos, this same officer says: "You may care to know my opinion of the Filipinos. Their character at first appears simple, but it is complex. Kipling well describes the Malay as 'half devil and half child.' The American Indian is often accused of treachery and deceit; but in comparison with the Filipino he is white as snow. The Filipino is sensitive, treacherous, deceitful, an abject coward, overbearing when in power, and fawning when not; he is cruel, sober, economical, industrious, and kind to women and children. I have not confined my observations to any one class, but have talked with doctors, priests, proprietors, farmers, and laborers; with those living in towns and those from the country and from the mountains. We make a distinction between the various tribes, but scratch a native and you will find a Malay. Apart and aside from all the others stands the Chinese mestizo. He appears to have inherited all and every bad quality of the Mongol and the Malay, and also the brightness of mind possessed by both races. He is the brains and mainspring of the insurgent movement. He is bright, active, alert, cruel, cunning, a murderer, a thief, a violator of women, an abductor, and an incendiary. If he possesses a single good quality, I have failed to notice it. He it is that is our main enemy."

It is proper, perhaps, to say, for the information of the reader, that the writer of the letter from which the above extracts have been made is an experienced officer of our regular army, who has served in our Southwestern Territories, and is familiar with Chinese, Mexicans, Indians, and half-breeds of all sorts.

It is not easy to reconcile the statements above set forth, or to form a mental picture of a people who "are not warlike or ferocious;" who are "peaceable and peace-loving;" who are "kindly and hospitable" even to their enemies; who "have an exalted idea of good breeding;" who are "sensitive, intelligent, and generous:" but who at the same time cut out the tongues and lop off the limbs of their fellow-countrymen; resort to torture when they are in our service, and bury our native allies alive when opposed to us; who are more deceitful and treacherous than American Indians; and who keep up their insurrection by means of an organized "conspiracy of murder—a Mafia on a very large scale."

The reader is as capable, perhaps, as I am of finding a synthesis which shall include and reconcile these apparently conflicting statements; but as I have had access to a larger quantity of material than I can here find room for, and as my judgment is based on the whole body of accessible facts, I give my own conclusions for what they may be worth.

The so-called "Filipinos" are not a homogeneous people. They are made up of many different tribes, standing at different levels of development and culture. They possess in common certain race peculiarities of type and temperament, but they differ among themselves, nevertheless, in many important but less radical characteristics. The Igorrote of northern Luzon has little in common with the Visayan of Negros or Panay, and the Chinese mestizo, described in the letter of the army officer, is a very different man from the educated Tagalog of Manila.

Some of the observers above quoted have made the common mistake of attributing to a whole heterogeneous people the qualities observed only in a few. Their statements of facts are true, but they err in building upon a few facts a superstructure of generalization which is too large for its base. That some of the so-called "Filipinos" have robbed, murdered, tortured, and buried alive their enemies is unquestionably true; but that cruelty and ferocity are characteristics of the Filipinos generally is, I think, an unwarranted conclusion. If Aguinaldo, Paterno, or Sixto Lopez should make, from American newspapers, a collection of American atrocities, in the shape of murders, lynchings, and burnings alive of suspected criminals, they might draw very unfavorable conclusions with regard to the character of the American people; but such conclusions would be erroneous and unfair. It is so, I think, in the Philippines. Even in a single homogeneous Malay tribe there are good men and bad men; but the good men are probably in a large majority. And even the good men may be guilty of indefensible cruelty when excited and exasperated by unjust treatment. If Macabebe scouts, in the service

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of the United States, resort to the terrible "water torture" as a means of extorting a confession or ascertaining the location of hidden guns, it is not surprising that the insurgents make reprisals by murdering, or even burying alive, native traitors and Macabebe scouts when the latter fall into their hands. From the point of view of humanity and morality it is barbarous and wholly indefensible; but the Christian nations whose soldiers kill and drown by the hundreds unresisting Chinese in the vicinity of Peking and at Blagoveshchinsk cannot safely or justly throw stones at the houses of the Filipinos.

From all of the evidence that I have been able to gather, I am of opinion that the Filipinos, properly so called—that is, the Tagalogs and Visayans of Luzon, Samar, Panay, Negros, and Leyte—are, in the words of General MacArthur, a "sensitive, intelligent, generous, and flexible people." They have many childlike impulses and characteristics, and, as a subject race, they have taken the impress of bad Spanish example; but they are not wholly depraved; they are not naturally ferocious or cruel; and they fight very much as they might be expected to fight in the circumstances of the case. The great mass of the people, under normal conditions, are impulsive, in a certain sense childish, imitative, fond of display, untrustworthy—as a badly trained child is untrustworthy—and subject, at times, to waves of emotional disturbance which are utterly foreign to the Anglo-Saxon temperament, and which have been described by a clear-sighted army officer in a letter to the War Department as "crazes," or paroxysms of "Malay fever." On the other hand, they are sensitive, impressionable, generous, fairly tractable and well disposed, easily governed if treated with kindness and justice, brave, sober, industrious, and eager to learn. If we can only win their confidence, we may do almost anything with them that we like, and may hold the Philippines, as Mr. Edwards says the Spaniards held them in 1851, with a few battalions of native infantry and a handful of United States regulars.

The American in the Philippines who seems to me to regard the people most fairly, and to state his conclusions most frankly, is General MacArthur; and although some officials in the War Department are inclined to laugh good-humoredly at his "ethnological homogeneity" and "consanguineous leadership," he understands the Filipinos better, and, in my judgment, has a juster view of the situation, in some of its aspects, than has the War Department or the Taft Commission.

With regard to the capacity of the Filipinos for self-government, there is much difference of opinion. Admiral Dewey thinks that they are better fitted for it than are the Cubans, and in that opinion I coincide; but it is far from certain that the Cubans are capable of governing themselves without supervision.

General Otis says: "No one of any degree of intelligence, who will go among the Filipinos and live for three months with them, will come away thinking that they are capable of self-government."

The Schurman Commission reports that the Filipinos are absolutely incapable of governing themselves, and that anarchy would follow our withdrawal from the islands.

The Taft Commission says that, in practice, it is extremely difficult to find honest and capable Filipinos to fill civil and judicial positions in the local administrations thus far organized under American control. "Charges of corruption and incompetence against the present Filipino judges are common, and the evidence is very strong that they are well founded. The number of Filipinos who are fitted by nature, education, and moral stability to fill such places is very small."

Mr. John Fitzgibbon, a newspaper correspondent who has recently returned from the Philippines and is now in Washington, regards the Filipinos as unfit for self-government, and says that "if left to themselves, they would imitate the worst of the South American republics."

Mr. Whitmarsh, the correspondent in the Philippines of The Outlook, says: "I believe that the Filipinos are wholly incapable of governing themselves, for a variety of reasons, but chiefly because the race, as yet, is an uneducated and characterless one, with a low standard of official integrity and a perverted idea of the true functions of government, without practical or 'common' sense, without experience, and divided against itself."

On the other hand, General MacArthur

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says that in the towns where the Filipinos have organized municipal governments under the advice and supervision of the military authorities "they have evinced such intelligent capacity as to encourage the expectation of rapid progress in the art of self-government, when the larger political administrations are organized."

Upon a review of all the evidence accessible to me, including a great deal for which I have no room in this article, I am forced to the conclusion that the Filipinos, if now left wholly to themselves, would probably fail—at least for a time—to set up and maintain a strong, stable, or orderly government. Whether, however, their government would not be as good as any that we can give them, in the present disturbed state of the islands, is a question. We are powerless, at present, to prevent the torture and burying alive of natives within two miles of our garrisoned posts; and there seems to be little probability that we shall be able to restore and maintain order throughout the archipelago for many months, perhaps many years, to come.

II. The Filipinos' wishes, aspirations, and demands.

The wishes, aspirations, and demands of the Filipinos are variously regarded and set forth by different American observers now on the ground. Some assert that the Filipinos will never be satisfied with anything less than complete independence, while others are of opinion that as soon as the better class of natives see the good effect of American rule, and become satisfied of the benevolence of our intentions, they will submit, and accept our sovereignty with cheerfulness, if not with eager alacrity.

The Schurman Commission, in reporting an interview which they had at the end of April, 1899, with Colonel Arguelles, an envoy of the insurgents, quote the latter as saying that the promises made to the Philippine people by the American Government would be in a large measure satisfactory, could those promises be accompanied with an assurance of their fulfillment. In their general outlines, the plans suggested by the President and the Commission were good; but so long as they existed as matters of promise merely they could not gain, with the Philippine people, the confidence to which, perhaps, they were entitled. Of mere promises the Philippine people had learned, with good reason, to be distrustful. He asked, therefore, for a clearer statement of the form of government designed for the islands.

The Commission told him that they had no legislative powers, and that it remained for Congress to determine finally the form of government which the United States would provide. The Commission, however, would confer with representatives even of the Tagalogs, if they would lay down their arms and enter into conference in the spirit of friendship.

Arguelles then withdrew, leaving with the Commission a letter from A. Mabini (since deported to Guam) asking for a suspension of hostilities and a general armistice of three months, in order to enable the Philippine administration to consult the people concerning the government which would be advantageous, and the part in it that should be taken by the United States, and also to give them time to appoint an extraordinary commission, with full power to act in the name of the Philippine people. "We do not solicit the armistice," Mabini says, "to gain time in which to reinforce ourselves, nor do we expect aid from Japan, or from any other nation. We ask only for a brief space of time, however short, in which the Philippine people may reflect upon their sad situation, and may understand the basis of the autonomy which is offered to them."

The Commission declined to ask General Otis to grant an armistice of any kind; we lost another opportunity of coming to an understanding with the Philippine people; the war went on; and the President is still giving the Filipinos promises—all that he can give them—while waiting for Congress to act.

Mr. A. G. Robinson, correspondent in the Philippines of the New York "Evening Post," thinks that adjustment of the trouble can be effected only through diplomatic and political channels; and caustically adds, "I believe that the United States may make up its mind to a more or less active row out here until these people have something more than vague assurances that when they stop 'kicking' they will get something which somebody else thinks is good for them."

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The Taft Commission, in its latest report, expresses the belief that "a majority of the people long for peace, and are entirely willing to accept the establishment of a government under the supremacy of the United States."

The only point upon which all observers in the Philippines seem to be agreed is that, if the Filipinos are ever to be conciliated and won over, the Spanish friars must be prevented from returning to their parishes. In the cry that "The friars must go" all Filipinos join, while we are bound by the Paris treaty to protect these monks in any place of residence that they may choose to select.

The best, fairest, and most sympathetic statement of the wishes and aspirations of the Filipinos that I have yet seen is that contained in the latest report of General MacArthur. With his introduction and comments, it is as follows:

> Compiled from an infinite number of interviews with all classes, a composite statement, something to the following effect, might be constructed, each of the sentiments of which has been uttered by one or more natives, but all of which, so far as known, have not been expressed by any one individual.
>
> "The United States have acquired sovereignty by treaty, and, in a way, own the Philippine Islands; but they do not own the Philippine people, which is the same as saying that the United States own a tenement, but do not own the tenants. Mutual control of the premises is most important, as without it there can be no permanent prosperity for either party of interest. America can rule by force, but the only way to realize American expectations in the islands is through conciliation. Americans can do almost anything if the Filipino people are with them; otherwise unending discord, conspiracy, and strife.
>
> "We are not fighting to drive America from the islands, but to convince them that we are not children; that we have ideals, aspirations, and hopes which must be recognized by giving us a government generally acceptable, and in the construction of which we must be consulted.
>
> "The problem is to reconcile American supremacy with the ambition of the native people; the necessary degree of American control with the national aspirations that the Filipinos have recently developed."
>
> The foregoing [General MacArthur says] is not precise in form, but is exact in interpretation, and is interesting, and perhaps instructive, as representing, as nearly as possible, the views of the great bulk of the so-called Nationalist party—that is to say, the men in arms and their supporters.

After reading all that has been written on the subject in the official reports, private letters, and public documents accessible to me, I am of opinion that the Filipinos want, first of all, a definite, authoritative, and absolutely trustworthy statement of our aims and intentions. We tell them—as Mr. Robinson expresses it—that if they will stop "kicking" they will get something that is good for them; but they reply, with some show of reason, that before they stop "kicking" they must know what that good "something" is, and have a definite assurance of the receipt of it, from the only authority that is competent to give such an assurance, namely, the Congress of the United States. At present they have only the promise of the President and his Philippine Commission; and by that promise the supreme legislative power of the United States is not necessarily bound.

As The Outlook said in a recent editorial, "the Filipinos have a right to know what is the attitude and what are the purposes of this Nation toward the Philippines. Only Congress can determine what that attitude shall be, and no duty devolves upon Congress which is so immediate and so important as the duty of reaching a wise and speedy determination of that question."

III. The nature and extent of the hostility manifested by the Filipinos toward the Americans.

The testimony relating to this branch of the subject is quite as conflicting and irreconcilable as that relating to the character of the Filipinos and the nature of their wishes and demands.

The Schurman Commission reported, a little more than a year ago, that hostility to the Americans was confined mainly to a part of the Tagalog provinces, and that throughout the archipelago "there is trouble only at those points to which armed Tagalogs have been sent in considerable numbers." In another part of its report the Commission said, "Nor can it be said, with any propriety, that an insurrection confined to Tagalogs—who, if all are included, number only 1,600,000 souls—has for its object the independence of the people of the Philippines, who number about 8,000,000."

Dean Worcester, a member of the first Philippine Commission, said, in an address delivered before the Hamilton Club of

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Chicago, that only a small fraction of the Philippine population is in arms against us, and that there "are whole provinces, yes, whole islands, ready to declare for us as soon as we can send troops to defend their inhabitants against the Tagalogs and against their own lawless citizens."

The Taft Commission, in its preliminary report dated August 20, 1900, declared that the hostility against the Americans was originally aroused by absurd falsehoods of unscrupulous leaders; that nearly all of the prominent insurgent leaders had been captured or had surrendered; and that the disturbances in certain parts of the islands, kept up to influence the Presidential election, did not show the unfriendly attitude of the majority of the people, but only the activity of small insurgent bodies in the mountains. Even in its latest report the Taft Commission asserts that a great majority of the people are willing to accept the establishment of a government under the supremacy of the United States, and are restrained from so doing only by the terroristic activity of a small minority of murderers and assassins.

Dr. George F. Becker, of the United States Geological Survey, who returned to Washington about a year ago, after fourteen months of travel in various parts of the Philippine archipelago, says that the insurrection was begun, and is still maintained, by a comparatively small number of Chinese-mestizo leaders, like Aguinaldo and Mabini, who were bright, clever, ambitious, and deceitful, and who hoped to get absolute power and rule the country themselves for their own benefit. He agrees with the Schurman Commission and the Taft Commission in saying that these leaders and their armed followers have terrorized the unarmed and peaceful majority of the population, and that they do not in any sense represent the Philippine people as a whole. They are merely unscrupulous soldiers of fortune, fighting for power and selfish advantage. The great mass of the Filipinos, in Dr. Becker's opinion, would take sides openly with the Americans if they felt absolutely sure that the latter were there to stay, and if they had some trustworthy guarantee of protection and safety.

In a private letter to an official of the War Department, an officer of our regular army in the Philippines, whom I shall call Major Bekof, says: "Hostilities, as now carried on, are not directed against the United States, but against the Filipinos. With the exception of a few deluded fanatics, there is no disposition to oppose United States troops; but let a town refuse to pay taxes" (to the insurgents) "and it is shot up at night. Half a dozen natives are killed, perhaps the same number wounded, and a good many houses are burned. The revolutionary government extends to all the towns of the island" (Luzon), "and is the greatest example of brigandage, in its worst forms (murder, torture, rape, abduction, pillage, and extortion) of which we have record. . . . The natives hate the insurgents more than they hate the Americans. We have many friends among them, if the friendlies dared to show their friendship. . . . Perhaps five per cent. would represent the number of out-and-out insurgents, while one per cent. will cover the number of outspoken American sympathizers. The remainder want peace, though a larger number favor the Americans than favor the insurgents. They are afraid to do so openly, because it is as much as a man's life is worth to take our side openly and then go beyond the outposts."

The above statements and citations fairly represent, I think, one side of the controversy. Now let us consider briefly the other side.

The records of the War Department, and the lists of killed and wounded which come incessantly from all parts of the archipelago, seem to me to show something more than the activity of small bands of insurgents in the mountains. The latest report, for example, of General Wheaton, commanding our forces in northern Luzon, contains a memorandum of 162 "affairs and combats" in that Department, which cost us 114 officers and men killed and wounded in four months. General Hughes, commanding our forces on the island of Panay, reports that "the people of the island are a unit against us, and no case of betrayal" (of an insurgent) "has yet occurred." Major-General Bates, commanding the Department of Southern Luzon, says to General MacArthur: "I cannot recommend the reduction of the forces in this Department by so much as

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a single soldier. . . . It will doubtless be a long time before any diminution can be made in any of the garrisons of this Department."

Of unofficial reports to the same effect there are more than a few. A distinguished officer of volunteers who has just returned to Washington after sixteen months of arduous service in various parts of the island of Luzon makes the following statement:

"The thing that impressed itself most deeply upon me, first and last, was the unchanging, unrelenting, implacable hostility of all classes of Filipinos toward the Americans. They don't like us, and I don't believe that they will ever come to like us. There is, in the first place, a racial antipathy; this is increased by recollection of their experience with the Spaniards, and finally it has been intensified by our treatment of and war upon them. They may be taught to fear us, but I don't think they can ever be brought to like us, or give us anything more than enforced submission. This applies to all the natives of the island of Luzon, where I served, and it applies almost without exception. Some Filipinos are outwardly friendly to us, and even enter our service; but they don't like us. If we continue to hold the islands—and I don't see how we can give them up—we shall have to govern, in my opinion, by fear. The resistance that we are encountering in the island of Luzon is that of the whole people. Although only a part of them are engaged in actual hostilities, they are all our enemies, and those who don't fight contribute to the support of those who do. Of course many of the contributions are forced, but a very large part of them are voluntary. I know wealthy Filipinos in the northern part of Luzon who have given almost their whole fortunes to the support of the insurrection. Even men who are in our service and who receive salaries from the United States contribute a percentage of such salaries to the insurgent cause."

Another officer who has recently returned from the Philippines confirms the above statement, and adds: "Whatever you may hear from the President, or from high officials of the War Department, it is absolutely true that we hold securely in the Philippines only the territory bounded by the range of our rifles. If a man goes back and forth between our posts without a strong escort, he does it at the peril of his life."

I might furnish a good deal more testimony of this kind; but as I shall have occasion to refer to this subject again in my next article, I will conclude with a brief quotation from the latest report of General MacArthur. He says that the success of the insurgents' "unique system of warfare depends upon almost complete unity of action of the entire native population. That such unity is a fact is too obvious to admit of discussion. How it is brought about and maintained is not so clear. Intimidation has undoubtedly accomplished much to this end; but fear as the only motive is hardly sufficient to account for the united and apparently spontaneous action of several millions of people. One traitor in each town would effectually destroy such a complex organization. It is more probable that the adhesive principle comes from ethnological homogeneity, which induces men to respond, for a time, to the appeals of consanguineous leadership, even when such action is opposed to their own interests and convictions of expediency. These remarks apply with equal force to the entire archipelago, except only that part of Mindanao occupied by Moros, and to the Jolo group."

In a conflict of judgment and opinion like that above presented, the reader is at liberty to take the side which seems to him to be best supported. In the light of all the information that I have been able to get, I am inclined to give most credence to the statements of our generals in the field. General MacArthur asserts that there is almost complete unity of action on the part of the entire native population; General Hughes reports that the people of the island of Panay are a unit against us; General Wheaton, in northern Luzon, forwards a memorandum of 162 "affairs and combats" in which his troops have been engaged; and General Bates, in southern Luzon, says that he cannot recommend the reduction of the forces in his Department by so much as a single soldier. All this looks to me like the stubborn resistance of a people rather than the activity of a few "skulking bands of guerrillas" from the mountains.

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Up from Slavery: An Autobiography[1]

By Booker T. Washington

Chapter XVII.—Last Words

WITH this chapter I close this series of articles, and I must say that I do so with the keenest regret. While I have been writing the articles I have formed an acquaintance with my readers which it is hard for me to interrupt. By reason of a large number of letters which have come to me from nearly all parts of the world, as well as from the words of hundreds of people who have thanked me personally for what I have tried to write, I have been put into such close and sympathetic touch with a large audience that it has seemed to make this one of the most enjoyable and satisfactory pieces of work that I have ever attempted.

My constant regret has been that what I have tried to do must have been done so imperfectly. Much of what I have written has been written on the trains, or at hotels and stations while I have been waiting for trains, or during what moments I could spare from my work while at Tuskegee. Without the invaluable assistance of Mr. Max Bennett Thrasher I could not, even in a degree, have succeeded as my readers tell me that I have.

Before going to Europe some events came into my life which were great surprises to me. In fact, my whole life has largely been one of surprises. I believe that any man's life will be filled with constant unexpected encouragements of this kind if he makes up his mind to do his level best each day of his life—that is, tries to make each day reach as nearly as possible the high-water mark of pure, unselfish, useful living.

Six months before he died, and nearly a year after he had been stricken with paralysis, General Armstrong expressed a wish to visit Tuskegee again before he passed away. Notwithstanding the fact that he had lost the use of his limbs to such an extent that he was practically helpless, his wish was gratified, and he was brought to Tuskegee. The owners of the Tuskegee Railroad, white men living in the town, offered to run a special train, without cost, out to the main station—Chehaw, five miles away—to meet him. He arrived on the school grounds about nine o'clock in the evening. Some one had suggested that we give the General a "pine-knot torchlight reception." This plan was carried out, and the moment that his carriage entered the school grounds he began passing between two lines of lighted and waving "fat pine" wood knots held by over a thousand students and teachers. The whole thing was so novel and surprising that the General was completely overcome with happiness. He remained a guest in my home for nearly two months, and although almost wholly without the use of voice or limb, he spent nearly every hour in devising ways and means to help the South. Time and time again he said to me, during this visit, that it was the duty of the country to assist in elevating not only the negro of the South, but the poor white man as well. At the end of his visit I resolved anew to devote myself more earnestly than ever to the cause which was so near his heart. I said that if a man in his condition was willing to think, work, and act, I should not be wanting in furthering in every possible way the wish of his heart.

The death of General Armstrong, a few weeks later, gave me the privilege of getting acquainted with one of the rarest, most unselfish, and most attractive men whom I have ever come in contact with. I refer to the Rev. Dr. Hollis B. Frissell, now the Principal of the Hampton Institute, and General Armstrong's successor. Under the clear, strong, and almost perfect leadership of Dr. Frissell, Hampton has had a career of prosperity and usefulness that is all that the General could have wished for. It seems to be the constant effort of Dr. Frissell to hide his own great personality behind that of General Armstrong—to make himself of "no reputation" for the sake of the cause.

More than once I have been asked what was the greatest surprise that ever

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came to me. I have little hesitation in answering that question. It was the following letter, which came to me one Sunday morning when I was sitting upon the veranda of my home at Tuskegee, surrounded by my wife and three children:

Harvard University, Cambridge, May 28, 1896.

President Booker T. Washington:

My Dear Sir—Harvard University desires to confer on you at the approaching Commencement an honorary degree; but it is our custom to confer degrees only on gentlemen who are present. Our Commencement occurs this year on June 24, and your presence would be desirable from about noon till about five o'clock in the afternoon. Would it be possible for you to be in Cambridge on that day?

Believe me, with great regard,

Very truly yours,

CHARLES W. ELIOT.

This was a recognition that had never in the slightest manner entered into my mind, and it was hard for me to realize that I was to be honored by a degree from the oldest and most renowned university in America. As I sat upon my veranda with this letter in my hand, tears came into my eyes. My whole former life—my life as a slave on the plantation, my work in the coal-mine, the times when I was without food and clothing, when I made my bed under a sidewalk, my struggles for an education, the trying days I had had at Tuskegee, days when I did not know where to turn for a dollar to continue the work there, the ostracism and sometimes oppression of my race—all this passed before me and nearly overcame me.

I had never sought or cared for what the world calls fame. I have always looked upon fame as a weapon to be used in accomplishing good. I have often said to my friends that if I can use whatever prominence may have come to me as an instrument with which to do good, I am content to have it. I care for it only as a means to be used for doing good, just as wealth may be used. The more I come into contact with wealthy people, the more I believe that they are growing in the direction of looking upon their money simply as an instrument which God has placed in their hands for doing good with. I never go to the office of Mr. John D. Rockefeller, who more than once has been generous to Tuskegee, without being reminded of this. The close, careful, and minute investigation that he always makes in order to be sure that every dollar that he gives will do the most good—an investigation that is just as searching as if he were investing money in a business enterprise—convinces me that the growth in this direction is most encouraging.

At nine o'clock, on the morning of June 24, I met President Eliot, the Board of Overseers of Harvard University, and the other guests, at the designated place on the University grounds, for the purpose of being escorted to Sanders Theater, where the Commencement exercises were to be held and the degrees conferred. Among others invited to be present for the purpose of receiving a degree at this time were General Nelson A. Miles, Dr. Bell, the inventor of the Bell telephone, Bishop Vincent, and the Rev. Minot J. Savage. We were placed in line immediately behind the President and the Board of Overseers, and directly afterward the Governor of Massachusetts, escorted by the Lancers, arrived and took his place in the line of march by the side of President Eliot. In the line there were also various other officers and professors, clad in cap and gown. In this order we marched to Sanders Theater, where, after the usual Commencement exercises, came the conferring of the honorary degrees. This, it seems, is always considered the most interesting feature at Harvard. It is not known, until the individuals appear, upon whom the honorary degrees are to be conferred, and those receiving these honors are cheered by the students and others in proportion to their popularity.

When my name was called, I rose, and President Eliot, in beautiful and strong English, conferred upon me the degree of Master of Arts. After these exercises were over, those who had received honorary degrees were invited to lunch with the President. After the lunch we were formed in line again, and were escorted by the Marshal of the day, who that year happened to be Bishop William Lawrence, through the grounds, where, at different points, those who had been honored were called by name and received the Harvard yell. This march ended at Memorial Hall, where the alumni dinner was served. To see over a thousand strong men, representing all that is best in State, Church, business, and education, with the glow and enthusiasm of college loyalty and

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college pride—which has, I think, a peculiar Harvard flavor—is a sight that does not easily fade from memory.

Among the speakers after dinner were President Eliot, Governor Roger Wolcott, General Miles, Dr. Minot J. Savage, the Hon. Henry Cabot Lodge, and myself. When I was called upon, I said, among other things:

It would in some measure relieve my embarrassment if I could, even in a slight degree, feel myself worthy of the great honor which you do me to-day. Why you have called me from the Black Belt of the South, from among my humble people, to share in the honors of this occasion, is not for me to explain; and yet it may not be inappropriate for me to suggest that it seems to me that one of the most vital questions that touch our American life is how to bring the strong, wealthy, and learned into helpful touch with the poorest, most ignorant, and humblest, and at the same time make the one appreciate the vitalizing, strengthening influence of the other. How shall we make the mansions on yon Beacon Street feel and see the need of the spirits in the lowliest cabin in Alabama cotton-fields or Louisiana sugar-bottoms? This problem Harvard University is solving, not by bringing itself down, but by bringing the masses up.

. . . . . .

If my life in the past has meant anything in the lifting up of my people and the bringing about of better relations between your race and mine, I assure you from this day it will mean doubly more. In the economy of God there is but one standard by which an individual can succeed—there is but one for a race. This country demands that every race shall measure itself by the American standard. By it a race must rise or fall, succeed or fail, and in the last analysis mere sentiment counts for little. During the next half-century and more, my race must continue passing through the severe American crucible. We are to be tested in our patience, our forbearance, our perseverance, our power to endure wrong, to withstand temptations, to economize, to acquire and use skill; in our ability to compete, to succeed in commerce, to disregard the superficial for the real, the appearance for the substance, to be great and yet small, learned and yet simple, high and yet the servant of all.

As this was the first time that a New England university had conferred an honorary degree upon a negro, it was the occasion of much newspaper comment throughout the country. A correspondent of a New York paper said:

When the name of Booker T. Washington was called, and he arose to acknowledge and accept, there was such an outburst of applause as greeted no other name except that of the popular soldier patriot, General Miles. The applause was not studied and stiff, sympathetic and condoling; it was enthusiasm and admiration. Every part of the audience from pit to gallery joined in, and a glow covered the cheeks of those around me, proving sincere appreciation of the rising struggle of an ex-slave and the work he has accomplished for his race.

A Boston paper said, editorially:

In conferring the honorary degree of Master of Arts upon the Principal of Tuskegee Institute, Harvard University has honored itself as well as the object of this distinction. The work which Professor Booker T. Washington has accomplished for education, good citizenship, and popular enlightenment in his chosen field of labor in the South entitles him to rank with our national benefactors. The university which can claim him on its list of sons, whether in regular course or *honoris causa*, may be proud.

It has been mentioned that Mr. Washington is the first of his race to receive an honorary degree from a New England university. This, in itself, is a distinction. But the degree was not conferred because Mr. Washington is a colored man, or because he was born in slavery, but because he has shown, by his work for the elevation of the people of the Black Belt of the South, a genius and a broad humanity which count for greatness in any man, whether his skin be white or black.

Another Boston paper said:

It is Harvard which, first among New England colleges, confers an honorary degree upon a black man. No one who has followed the history of Tuskegee and its work can fail to admire the courage, persistence, and splendid common sense of Booker T. Washington. Well may Harvard honor the ex-slave, the value of whose services, alike to his race and country, only the future can estimate.

The correspondent of the New York "Times" wrote:

All the speeches were enthusiastically received, but the colored man carried off the oratorical honors, and the applause which broke out when he had finished was vociferous and long continued.

Soon after I began work at Tuskegee I formed a resolution, in the secret of my heart, that I would try to build up a school that would be of so much service to the country that the President of the United States would one day come to see it. This was, I confess, rather a bold resolution, and for a number of years I kept it hidden in my own thoughts, not daring to share it with any one.

In November, 1897, I made the first move in this direction, and that was in securing a visit from a member of President McKinley's Cabinet, the Hon. James Wilson, Secretary of Agriculture. He came to deliver an address at the

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formal opening of the Slater-Armstrong Agricultural Building, our first large building to be used for the purpose of giving training to our students in agriculture and kindred branches.

In the fall of 1898 I heard that President McKinley was likely to visit Atlanta, Georgia, for the purpose of taking part in the Peace Jubilee exercises to be held there to commemorate the successful close of the Spanish-American war. At this time I had been hard at work, together with our teachers, for eighteen years, trying to build up a school that we thought would be of service to the Nation, and I determined to make a direct effort to secure a visit from the President and his Cabinet. I went to Washington, and I was not long in the city before I found my way to the White House. When I got there I found the waiting-rooms full of people, and my heart began to sink, for I feared there would not be much chance of my seeing the President that day, if at all. But, at any rate, I got an opportunity to see Mr. J. Addison Porter, the secretary to the President, and explained to him my mission. Mr. Porter kindly sent my card directly to the President, and in a few minutes word came from Mr. McKinley that he would see me.

How any man can see so many people of all kinds, with all kinds of errands, and do so much hard work, and still keep himself calm, patient, and fresh for each visitor in the way that President McKinley does, I cannot understand. When I saw the President he kindly thanked me for the work which we were doing at Tuskegee for the interests of the country. I then told him, briefly, the object of my visit. I impressed upon him the fact that a visit from the Chief Executive of the Nation would not only encourage our students and teachers, but would help the entire race. He seemed interested, but did not make a promise to go to Tuskegee, for the reason that his plans about going to Atlanta were not then fully made; but he asked me to call the matter to his attention a few weeks later.

By the middle of the following month the President had definitely decided to attend the Peace Jubilee at Atlanta. I went to Washington again and saw him, with a view of getting him to extend his trip to Tuskegee. On this second visit Mr. Charles W. Hare, a prominent white citizen of Tuskegee, kindly volunteered to accompany me to reinforce my invitation with one from the white people of Tuskegee and the vicinity.

Just previous to my going to Washington the second time, the country had been excited, and the colored people greatly depressed, because of several severe race riots which had occurred at different points in the South. As soon as I saw the President, I perceived that his heart was greatly burdened by reason of these race disturbances. Although there were many people waiting to see him, he detained me for some time, discussing the condition and prospects of the race. He remarked several times that he was determined to show his interest and faith in the race, not merely in words, but by acts. When I told him that I thought that at that time scarcely anything would go further in giving hope and encouragement to the race than the fact that the President of the Nation would be willing to travel one hundred and forty miles out of his way to spend a day at a negro institution, he seemed deeply impressed.

While I was with the President, a white citizen of Atlanta, a Democrat and an ex-slaveholder, came into the room, and the President asked his opinion as to the wisdom of his going to Tuskegee. Without hesitation the Atlanta man replied that it was the proper thing for him to do. This opinion was reinforced by that friend of the race, Dr. J. L. M. Curry. The President promised that he would visit our school on the sixteenth of December.

When it became known that the President was going to visit our school, the white citizens of the town of Tuskegee—a mile distant from the school—were as much pleased as were our students and teachers. The white people of the town, including both men and women, began arranging to decorate the town, and to form themselves into committees for the purpose of co-operating with the officers of our school in order that the distinguished visitor might have a fitting reception. I think I never realized before this how much the white people of Tuskegee and vicinity thought of our institution. In fact, the thing that touched me almost as deeply as the visit of the President itself was the deep pride which all classes of

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citizens in Alabama seemed to take in our work.

The morning of December sixteenth brought to the little city of Tuskegee such a crowd as it had never seen before. With the President came Mrs. McKinley and all of the Cabinet officers but one; and most of them brought their wives or some members of their families. Several prominent generals came, including General Shafter and General Joseph Wheeler, who were recently returned from the Spanish-American war. There was also a host of newspaper correspondents. The Alabama Legislature was in session at Montgomery at this time. This body passed a resolution to adjourn for the purpose of visiting Tuskegee. Just before the arrival of the President's party the Legislature arrived, headed by the Governor and other State officials.

The citizens of Tuskegee had decorated the town from the station to the school in a generous manner. In order to economize in the matter of time, we arranged to have the whole school pass in review before the President. Each student carried a stalk of sugar-cane with some open bolls of cotton fastened to the end of it. Following the students the work of all departments of the school passed in review, displayed on "floats" drawn by horses, mules, and oxen. On these floats we tried to exhibit not only the present work of the school, but to show the contrasts between the old methods of doing things and the new. As an example, we showed the old method of dairying in contrast with the improved methods, the old methods of tilling the soil in contrast with the new, the old methods of cooking and housekeeping in contrast with the new. These floats consumed an hour and a half of time in passing.

In his address in our large, new chapel, which the students had recently completed, the President said, among other things:

To meet you under such pleasant auspices and to have the opportunity of a personal observation of your work is indeed most gratifying. The Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute is ideal in its conception, and has already a large and growing reputation in the country, and is not unknown abroad. I congratulate all who are associated in this undertaking for the good work which it is doing in the education of its students to lead lives of honor and usefulness, thus exalting the race for which it was established.

Nowhere, I think, could a more delightful location have been chosen for this unique educational experiment, which has attracted the attention and won the support even of conservative philanthropists in all sections of the country.

To speak of Tuskegee without paying special tribute to Booker T. Washington's genius and perseverance would be impossible. The inception of this noble enterprise was his, and he deserves high credit for it. His were the enthusiasm and enterprise which made its steady progress possible and established in the institution its present high standard of accomplishment. He has won a worthy reputation as one of the great leaders of his race, widely known and much respected at home and abroad as an accomplished educator, a great orator, and a true philanthropist.

The Hon. John D. Long, the Secretary of the Navy, said in part:

I cannot make a speech to-day. My heart is too full—full of hope, admiration, and pride for my countrymen of both sections and both colors. I am filled with gratitude and admiration for your work, and from this time forward I shall have absolute confidence in your progress and in the solution of the problem in which you are engaged.

The problem, I say, has been solved. A picture has been presented to-day which should be put upon canvas with the pictures of Washington and Lincoln, and transmitted to future time and generations—a picture which the press of the country should spread broadcast over the land, a most dramatic picture, and that picture is this: The President of the United States standing on this platform; on one side the Governor of Alabama, on the other, completing the trinity, a representative of a race only a few years ago in bondage, the colored President of the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute.

Some days after the President returned to Washington I received the lettter which follows:

Executive Mansion, Washington, Dec. 23, 1899.

Dear Sir: By this mail I take pleasure in sending you engrossed copies of the souvenir of the visit of the President to your institution. These sheets bear the autographs of the President and the members of the Cabinet who accompanied him on the trip. Let me take this opportunity of congratulating you most heartily and sincerely upon the great success of the exercises provided for and entertainment furnished us under your auspices during our visit to Tuskegee. Every feature of the programme was perfectly executed and was viewed or participated in with the heartiest satisfaction by every visitor present. The unique exhibition which you gave of your pupils engaged in their industrial vocations was not only artistic but thoroughly impressive. The tribute paid by the President and his Cabinet to your work was none too high, and forms a most encouraging augury, I think, for the future prosperity of your institution. I cannot close without assuring you

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that the modesty shown by yourself in the exercises was most favorably commented upon by all the members of our party.

"With best wishes for the continued advance of your most useful and patriotic undertaking, kind personal regards, and the compliments of the season, believe me, always,

Very sincerely yours,
JOHN ADDISON PORTER,
Secretary to the President.

To President BOOKER T. WASHINGTON,
Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute,
Tuskegee, Ala.

Twenty years have now passed since I made the first humble effort at Tuskegee, in a broken-down shanty and an old hen-house, without owning a dollar's worth of property, and with but one teacher and thirty students. At the present time the institution owns twenty-three hundred acres of land, over seven hundred of which are under cultivation each year, entirely by student labor. There are now upon the grounds, counting large and small, forty buildings; and all except four of these have been almost wholly erected by the labor of our students. While the students are at work upon the land and in erecting buildings, they are taught, by competent instructors, the latest methods of agriculture and the trades connected with building.

There are in constant operation at the school, in connection with thorough academic and religious training, twenty-eight industrial departments. All of these teach industries at which our men and women can find immediate employment as soon as they leave the institution. The only difficulty now is that the demand for our graduates from both white and black people in the South is so great that we cannot supply more than one-half the persons for whom applications come to us. Neither have we the buildings nor the money for current expenses to enable us to admit to the school more than one-half the young men and women who apply to us for admission.

In our industrial teaching we keep three things in mind: first, that the student shall be so educated that he shall be enabled to meet conditions as they exist *now*, in the part of the South where he lives—in a word, to be able to do the thing which the world wants done; second, that every student who graduates from the school shall have enough skill, coupled with intelligence and moral character, to enable him to make a living for himself and others; third, to send every graduate out feeling and knowing that labor is dignified and beautiful—to make each one love labor instead of trying to escape it. In addition to the agricultural training which we give to young men, and the training given to our girls in all the usual domestic employments, we now train a number of girls in agriculture each year. These girls are taught gardening, fruit-growing, dairying, bee-culture, and poultry-raising.

While the institution is in no sense denominational, we have a department known as the Phelps Hall Bible Training School, in which a number of students are prepared for the ministry and other forms of Christian work, especially work in the country districts. What is equally important, each one of these students works half of each day at some industry, in order to get skill and the love of work, so that when he goes out from the institution he is prepared to set the people with whom he goes to labor a proper example in the matter of industry.

The value of our property is now over $300,000. If we add to this our endowment fund, which at present is $188,000, the value of the total property is now nearly half a million dollars. Aside from the need for more buildings and for money for current expenses, the endowment fund should be increased to at least $500,000. The annual current expenses are now about $80,000. The greater part of this I collect each year by going from door to door and from house to house. All of our property is free from mortgage, and is deeded to an undenominational board of trustees who have the control of the institution.

From thirty students the number has grown to eleven hundred, coming from twenty-seven States and Territories, from Africa, Cuba, Porto Rico, Jamaica, and from other foreign countries. In our departments there are eighty-six officers and instructors; and if we add the families of our instructors, we have a constant population upon our grounds of not far from fourteen hundred people.

I have often been asked how we keep so large a body of people together, and at the same time keep them out of mischief. There are two answers: that the men and

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women who come to us for an education are in earnest; and that everybody is kept busy. The following outline of our daily work will testify to this:

5 A.M., rising bell; 5:50 A.M., warning breakfast bell; 6 A.M., breakfast bell; 6:20 A.M., breakfast over; 6:20 to 6:50 A.M., rooms are cleaned; 6:50, work bell; 7:30, morning study hour; 8:20, morning school bell; 8:25, inspection of young men's toilet in ranks; 8:40, devotional exercises in chapel; 8:55, "5 minutes with the daily news;" 9 A.M., class work begins; 12, class work closes; 12:15 P.M., dinner; 1 P.M., work bell; 1:30 P.M., class work begins; 3:30 P.M., class work ends; 5:30 P.M., bell to "knock off" work; 6 P.M., supper; 7:10 P.M., evening prayers; 7:30 P.M., evening study hours; 8:45 P.M., evening study hour closes; 9:20 P.M., warning retiring bell; 9:30 P.M., retiring bell.

We try to keep constantly in mind the fact that the worth of the school is to be judged by its graduates. Counting those who have finished the full course, together with those who have taken enough training to enable them to do reasonably good work, we can safely say that at least three thousand men and women from Tuskegee are now at work in different parts of the South; men and women who, by their own example or by direct effort, are showing the masses of our race how to improve their material, educational, and moral and religious life. What is equally important, they are exhibiting a degree of common sense and self-control which is causing better relations to exist between the races, and is causing the Southern white man to learn to believe in the value of educating the men and women of my race. Aside from this, there is the influence that is constantly being exerted through the mothers' meeting and the plantation work conducted by Mrs. Washington.

Wherever our graduates go, the changes which soon begin to appear in the buying of land, improving homes, saving money, in education, and in high moral character, are remarkable. Whole communities are fast being revolutionized through the instrumentality of these men and women.

Ten years ago I organized at Tuskegee the first Negro Conference. This is an annual gathering which now brings to the school eight or nine hundred representative men and women of the race, who come to spend a day in finding out what the actual industrial, mental, and moral conditions of the people are, and in forming plans for improvement. Out from this central Negro Conference at Tuskegee have grown numerous State and local conferences which are doing the same kind of work. As a result of the influence of these gatherings, one delegate reported at the last annual meeting that ten families in his community had bought and paid for homes.

In the summer of 1900, with the assistance of such prominent colored men as Mr. T. Thomas Fortune, who has always upheld my hands in every effort, I organized the National Negro Business League, which held its first meeting in Boston, and brought together for the first time a large number of the colored men who are engaged in various lines of trade or business in different parts of the United States. Thirty States were represented at our first meeting. Out of this National meeting grew State and local business leagues.

In addition to looking after the executive side of the work at Tuskegee, and raising the greater part of the money for the support of the school, I cannot seem to escape the duty of answering at least a part of the calls which come to me, unsought, to address Southern white audiences and audiences of my own race, as well as frequent gatherings in the North.

Nor can I, in addition to making these addresses, escape the duty of calling the attention of the South and of the country in general, through the medium of the press, to matters that pertain to the interests of both races. This, for example, I have done in regard to the evil habit of lynching. When the Louisiana State Constitutional Convention was in session, I wrote an open letter to that body pleading for justice for the race. In all such efforts I have received warm and hearty support from the Southern newspapers, as well as from those in all other parts of the country.

Despite superficial and temporal signs which might lead one to entertain a contrary opinion, there was never a time when I felt more hopeful for the race than I do at the present. The great human law that in the end recognizes and rewards merit is everlasting and universal. The outside world does not know, neither can it appreciate, the struggle that is constantly

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going on in the hearts of both the Southern white people and their former slaves to free themselves from racial prejudice; and while both races are thus struggling they should have the sympathy, the support, and the forbearance of the rest of the world.

As I write these closing words of the last of this series of articles, I find myself —not by design—in the city of Richmond, Virginia: the city which only a few decades ago was the seat of the Southern Confederacy, and where, about twenty-five years ago, because of my poverty I slept night after night under a sidewalk.

This time I am in Richmond as the guest of the colored people of the city, and came at their request to deliver an address last night to both races in the Academy of Music, the largest and finest audience-room in the city. This was the first time that the colored people had ever been permitted to use this hall. The day before I came, the City Council passed a vote to attend the meeting in a body to hear me speak. The State Legislature, consisting of the House of Delegates and the Senate, also passed a unanimous vote to attend in a body. In the presence of hundreds of colored people, many distinguished white citizens, the City Council, the State Legislature, and State officials, I delivered my message, which was one of hope and cheer; and from the bottom of my heart I thanked both races for this welcome to me back to the State that gave me birth.

The Queen's Twin[1]

By Sarah Orne Jewett

[The present deep interest in all that pertains to the life and personality of England's great Queen lends a peculiar and special charm to one of the most delightful of Miss Jewett's many delightful character-tales. We print here by special permission the latter part of the story, which describes the actual visit of two friends to the good old New England lady known familiarly as the Queen's Twin.—THE EDITORS.]

THE Queen's Twin stood waiting with a calm look until we came near enough to take her kind hand. She was a beautiful old woman, with clear eyes and a lovely quietness and genuineness of manner; there was not a trace of anything pretentious about her, or high-flown, as Mrs. Todd would say comprehensively. Beauty in age is rare enough in women who have spent their lives in the hard work of a farm-house; but, autumn-like and withered as this woman may have looked, her features had kept, or rather gained, a great refinement. She led us into her old kitchen and gave us seats, and took one of the little straight-backed chairs herself and sat a short distance away, as if she were giving audience to an ambassador. It seemed as if we should all be standing; you could not help feeling that the habits of her life were more ceremonious, but that for the moment she assumed the simplicities of the occasion.

Mrs. Todd was always Mrs. Todd, too great and self-possessed a soul for any occasion to ruffle. I admired her calmness, and presently the slow current of neighborhood talk carried one easily along; we spoke of the weather and the small adventures of the way, and then, as if I were after all not a stranger, our hostess turned almost affectionately to speak to me.

"The weather will be growing dark in London now. I expect that you've been in London, dear?" she said.

"Oh, yes," I answered. "Only last year."

"It is a great many years since I was there, along in the forties," said Mrs. Martin. "'Twas the only voyage I ever made; most of my neighbors have been great travelers. My brother was master of a vessel, and his wife usually sailed with him; but that year she had a young child more frail than the others, and she dreaded the care of it at sea. It happened that my brother got a chance for my husband to go as supercargo, being a good accountant, and came one day to

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urge him to take it; he was very ill-disposed to the sea, but he had met with losses, and I saw my own opportunity and persuaded them both to let me go too. In those days they didn't object to a woman's being aboard to wash and mend, the voyages were sometimes very long. And that was the way I come to see the Queen."

Mrs. Martin was looking straight in my eyes to see if I showed any genuine interest in the most interesting person in the world.

"Oh, I am very glad you saw the Queen," I hastened to say. "Mrs. Todd has told me that you and she were born the very same day."

"We were indeed, dear!" said Mrs. Martin, and she leaned back comfortably and smiled as she had not smiled before. Mrs. Todd gave a satisfied nod and glance, as if to say that things were going on as well as possible in this anxious moment.

"Yes," said Mrs. Martin again, drawing her chair a little nearer, "'twas a very remarkable thing; we were born the same day, and at exactly the same hour, after you allowed for all the difference in time. My father figured it out sea-fashion. Her Royal Majesty and I opened our eyes upon this world together; say what you may, 'tis a bond between us."

Mrs. Todd assented with an air of triumph, and untied her hat-strings and threw them back over her shoulders with a gallant air.

"And I married a man by the name of Albert, just the same as she did, and all by chance, for I didn't get the news that she had an Albert too till a fortnight afterward; news was slower coming then than it is now. My first baby was a girl, and I called her Victoria after my mate; but the next one was a boy, and my husband wanted the right to name him, and took his own name and his brother Edward's, and pretty soon I saw in the paper that the little Prince o' Wales had been christened just the same. After that I made excuse to wait till I knew what she'd named her children. I didn't want to break the chain, so I had an Alfred, and my darling Alice that I lost long before she lost hers, and there I stopped. If I'd only had a dear daughter to stay at home with me, same's her youngest one, I should have been so thankful! But if only one of us could have a little Beatrice, I'm glad 'twas the Queen; we've both seen trouble, but she's had the most care."

I asked Mrs. Martin if she lived alone all the year, and was told that she did except for a visit now and then from one of her grandchildren, "the only one that really likes to come an' stay quiet 'long o' grandma. She always says quick as she's through her schoolin' she's goin' to live with me all the time, but she's very pretty an' has taking ways," said Mrs. Martin, looking both proud and wistful, "so I can tell nothing at all about it! Yes, I've been alone most o' the time since my Albert was taken away, and that's a great many years; he had a long time o' failing and sickness first." (Mrs. Todd's foot gave an impatient scuff on the floor.) "An' I've always lived right here. I ain't like the Queen's Majesty, for this is the only palace I've got," said the dear old thing, smiling again. "I'm glad of it, too; I don't like changing about, an' our stations in life are set very different. I don't require what the Queen does, but sometimes I've thought 'twas left to me to do the plain things she don't have time for. I expect she's a beautiful housekeeper, nobody couldn't have done better in her high place, and she's been as good a mother as she's been a queen.

"I guess she has, Abby," agreed Mrs. Todd, instantly. "How was it you happened to get such a good look at her? I meant to ask you again when I was here t'other day."

"Our ship was layin' in the Thames, right there above Wapping. We was dischargin' cargo, and under orders to clear as quick as we could for Bordeaux to take on an excellent freight o' French goods," explained Mrs. Martin, eagerly. "I heard that the Queen was goin' to a great review of her army, and would drive out o' her Buckin'ham Palace about ten o'clock in the mornin', and I run aft to Albert, my husband, and brother Horace where they was standin' together by the hatchway, and told 'em they must one of 'em take me. They laughed, I was in such a hurry, and said they couldn't go; and I found they meant it and got sort of impatient when I began to talk, and I was 'most broken-hearted; 'twas all the reason I had for makin' that hard voyage. Albert

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couldn't help often reproachin' me, for he did so resent the sea, an' I'd known how 'twould be before we sailed; but I'd minded nothing all the way till then, and I just crep' back to my cabin an' begun to cry. They was disappointed about their ship's cook, an' I'd cooked for fo'c's'le an' cabin myself all the way over; 'twas dreadful hard work, specially in rough weather; we'd had head winds an' a six weeks' voyage. They'd acted sort of shamed o' me when I pled so to go ashore, an' that hurt my feelin's most of all. But Albert come below pretty soon; I'd never given way so in my life, an' he begun to act frightened, and treated me gentle just as he did when we was goin' to be married; an' when I got over sobbin' he went on deck and saw Horace an' talked it over what they could do; they really had their duty to the vessel, and couldn't be spared that day. Horace was real good when he understood everything, and he come and told me I'd more than worked my passage an' was goin' to do just as I liked now we was in port. He'd engaged a cook, too, that was comin' aboard that mornin', and he was goin' to send the ship's carpenter with me—a nice fellow from up Thomaston way; he'd gone to put on his ashore clothes as quick's he could. So then I got ready, and we started off in the small boat and rowed up river. I was afraid we were too late, but the tide was setting up very strong, and we landed an' left the boat to a keeper, and I run all the way up those great streets and across a park. 'Twas a great day, with sights o' folks everywhere, but 'twas just as if they was nothin' but wax images to me. I kep' askin' my way an' runnin' on, with the carpenter comin' after as best he could, and just as I worked to the front o' the crowd by the palace, the gates was flung open and out she came; all prancin' horses and shinin' gold, and in a beautiful carriage there she sat; 'twas a moment o' heaven to me. I saw her plain, and she looked right at me so pleasant and happy, just as if she knew there was somethin' different between us from other folks."

There was a moment when the Queen's Twin could not go on and neither of her listeners could ask a question.

"Prince Albert was sitting right beside her in the carriage," she continued. "Oh, he was a beautiful man! Yes, dear, I saw 'em both together just as I see you now, and then she was gone out o' sight in another minute, and the common crowd was all spread over the place pushin' an' cheerin'. 'Twas some kind o' holiday, an' the carpenter and I got separated, an' then I found him again after I didn't think I should, an' he was all for makin' a day of it, and goin' to show me all the sights; he'd been in London before; but I didn't want nothin' else, an' we went back through the streets down to the waterside an' took the boat. I remember I mended an old coat o' my Albert's as good as I could, sittin' on the quarter-deck in the sun all that afternoon, and 'twas all as if I was livin' in a lovely dream. I don't know how to explain it, but there hasn't been no friend I've felt so near to me ever since."

One could not say much—only listen. Mrs. Todd put in a discerning question now and then, and Mrs. Martin's eyes shone brighter and brighter as she talked. What a lovely gift of imagination and true affection was in this fond old heart! I looked about the plain New England kitchen, with its wood-smoked walls and homely braided rugs on the worn floor, and all its simple furnishings. The loud-ticking clock seemed to encourage us to speak; at the other side of the room was an early newspaper portrait of Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland. On a shelf below were some flowers in a little glass dish, as if they were put before a shrine.

"If I could have had more to read, I should have known 'most everything about her," said Mrs. Martin, wistfully. "I've made the most of what I did have, and thought it over and over till it came clear. I sometimes seem to have her all my own, as if we'd lived right together. I've often walked out into the woods alone and told her what my troubles was, and it always seemed as if she told me 'twas all right, an' we must have patience. I've got her beautiful book about the Highlands; 'twas dear Mis' Todd here that found out about her printing it and got a copy for me, and it's been a treasure to my heart, just as if 'twas written right to me. I always read it Sundays now, for my Sunday treat. Before that I used to have to imagine a good deal, but when I come to read her book, I knew

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what I expected was all true. We do think alike about so many things," said the Queen's Twin with affectionate certainty. "You see, there is something between us, being born just at the same time; 'tis what they call a birthright. She's had great tasks put upon her, being the Queen, an' mine has been the humble lot; but she's done the best she could, nobody can say to the contrary, and there's something between us; she's been the great lesson I've had to live by. She's been everything to me. An' when she had her Jubilee, oh, how my heart was with her!"

"There, 'twouldn't play the part in her life it has in mine," said Mrs. Martin generously, in answer to something one of her listeners had said. "Sometimes I think, now she's older, she might like to know about us. When I think how few old friends anybody has left at our age, I suppose it may be just the same with her as it is with me; perhaps she would like to know how we came into life together. But I've had a great advantage in seeing her, an' I can always fancy her goin' on, while she don't know nothin' yet about me, except she may feel my love stayin' her heart sometimes an' not know just where it comes from. An' I dream about our being together out in some pretty fields, young as ever we was, and holdin' hands as we walk along. I'd like to know if she ever has that dream too. I used to have days when I made believe she did know, an' was comin' to see me," confessed the speaker, shyly, with a little flush on her cheeks; "and I'd plan what I could have nice for supper, and I wasn't goin' to let anybody know she was here havin' a good rest, except I'd wish you, Almira Todd, or dear Mis' Blackett would happen in, for you'd know just how to talk with her. You see, she likes to be up in Scotland, right out in the wild country, better than she does anywhere else."

"I'd really love to take her out to see mother at Green Island," said Mrs. Todd, with a sudden impulse.

"Oh, yes! I should love to have you," exclaimed Mrs. Martin, and then she began to speak in a lower tone. "One day I got thinkin' so about my dear Queen," she said, "an' livin' so in my thoughts, that I went to work an' got all ready for her, just as if she was really comin'. I never told this to a livin' soul before, but I feel you'll understand. I put my best fine sheets and blankets I spun an' wove myself on the bed, and I picked some pretty flowers and put 'em all round the house, an' I worked as hard an' happy as I could all day, and had as nice a supper ready as I could get, sort of telling myself a story all the time. She was comin' an' I was goin' to see her again, an' I kep' it up until nightfall; an' when I see the dark an' it come to me I was all alone, the dream left me, an' I sat down on the doorstep an' felt all foolish an' tired. An', if you'll believe it, I heard steps comin', an' an old cousin o' mine come wanderin' along, one I was apt to be shy of. She wasn't all there, as folks used to say, but harmless enough and a kind of poor old talking body. And I went right to meet her when I first heard her call, 'stead o' hidin' as I sometimes did, an' she come in dreadful willin', an' we sat down to supper together; 'twas a supper I should have had no heart to eat alone.

"I don't believe she ever had such a splendid time in her life as she did then. I heard her tell all about it afterwards," exclaimed Mrs. Todd, compassionately. "There, now I hear all this it seems just as if the Queen might have known and couldn't come herself, so she sent that poor old creatur' that was always in need!"

Mrs. Martin looked timidly at Mrs. Todd and then at me. "'Twas childish o' me to go an' get supper," she confessed.

"I guess you wa'n't the first one to do that," said Mrs. Todd. "No, I guess you wa'n't the first one who's got supper that way, Abby," and then for a moment she could say no more.

Mrs. Todd and Mrs. Martin had moved their chairs a little so that they faced each other, and I, at one side, could see them both.

"No, you never told me o' that before, Abby," said Mrs. Todd, gently. "Don't it show that for folks that have any fancy in 'em, such beautiful dreams is the real part o' life? But to most folks the common things that happens outside 'em is all in all."

Mrs. Martin did not appear to understand at first, strange to say, when the secret of her heart was put into words; then a glow of pleasure and comprehension shone upon her face. "Why, I believe you're right, Almira!" she said, and turned to me.

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"Wouldn't you like to look at my pictures of the Queen?" she asked, and we rose and went into the best room.

The midday visit seemed very short; September hours are brief to match the shortening days. The great subject was dismissed for a while after our visit to the Queen's pictures, and my companions spoke much of lesser persons until we drank the cup of tea which Mrs. Todd had foreseen. I happily remembered that the Queen herself is said to like a proper cup of tea, and this at once seemed to make her Majesty kindly join so remote and reverent a company. Mrs. Martin's thin cheeks took on a pretty color like a girl's. "Somehow I always have thought of her when I made it extra good," she said. "I've got a real china cup that belonged to my grandmother, and I believe I shall call it hers now."

"Why don't you?" responded Mrs. Todd warmly, with a delightful smile.

Later they spoke of a promised visit which was to be made in the Indian summer to the Landing and Green Island, but I observed that Mrs. Todd presented the little parcel of dried herbs, with full directions, for a cure-all in the spring, as if there were no real chance of their meeting again first. As we looked back from the turn of the road the Queen's Twin was still standing on the doorstep watching us away, and Mrs. Todd stopped, and stood still for a moment before she waved her hand again.

"There's one thing certain, dear," she said to me with great discernment; "it ain't as if we left her all alone!"

Then we set out upon our long way home over the hill, where we lingered in the afternoon sunshine, and through the dark woods across the heron swamp.

The Women of the Renaissance[1]

THE first impression obtained from this remarkable book is of the immense research and knowledge which the author brings to bear upon his subject; the second, the philosophic sympathy, the wisely witty and delectable play of treatment, the engaging fairness of his all-around point of view. There is no slurring of fact or glossing over of situation; yet only a supersensitive reader could take offense at the lucid boldness with which this record of palpitating humanity is laid bare.

The author leads up to the period of the Renaissance proper—the latter half of the fifteenth and nearly all of the sixteenth centuries—by giving some searchingly clear glimpses into the periods just preceding it in Italy and France. Despite the charm of style, and a lambent humor that lets itself play around whatever saving grace it finds, it is but a sorry life we see for women, even in the Latin countries where their environment was best, and, as a consequence, where they first discovered their own powers. Of his own country, France, the author says: "We are slightly Greek, half Latin or Ligurian, very Gallic or very German, and in the west, the country of an intellectual gulf-stream, we are dreamers—the Celts of M. Legouve's enthusiasm. All of us, whatever our stock, professed in the Middle Ages to adore women; the author of an old *Fabliau* makes the Virgin ask of one of our gallant knights the subtle question, 'Is thy lady fairer than I?' But in practice—in other words, in private life—we treated women like animals, with the whip."

It was during France's convalescence after the Thirty Years' War that Italy became transformed. "A great revolution, moral, religious, scientific, but, above all, æsthetic, had brought once more upon the arena the eternal protagonists, the Roman spiritualists, and the friends of force, that is, of imperial Germany. Men are in general inclined to force; their idea of happiness consists in imposing their will upon others, no matter how brutally, or at least donning a uniform—they are born fighters or jockeys. Women, on the contrary, can only hope to exert direct and effective action by the spiritualizing of society."

With subtle insight he probes the nature of woman, showing its strength and weak-

[1] *The Women of the Renaissance: A Study in Feminism.* By René de Maulde la Clavière. Translated by G. H. Ely. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.

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ness; assuring her that she need never hope for individual growth by "handing herself over to the tender mercies of men, whether husbands, lovers, doctors, or hydrotherapists—not by aping the manners of men do women acquire liberty. They are taken at their own valuation, provided they accentuate their own purely feminine qualities." And this he elucidates throughout the whole story of the women of the Renaissance. "Many, instructed, stout-hearted, nobly generous," he continues, "while men wasted their activities abroad, consistently embodied at home that superb saying of Christ, 'Let not your hearts be troubled'—the only prescription yet discovered for the cure of neurasthenia."

But he is far from making these women all angelic; caustic, tender, ironical, playful, by turns, he handles them with justice—not omitting to give them the benefit of the doubt. Leading through the dim, labyrinthine ways of mediæval domestic life, interpreting the mental growth of women by what he finds there, his tread is steady, his touch sure.

Prior to the Renaissance, although fifteen was the ideal age sung by poets, twelve was the approved age for girls to marry. Men of rank often took a child of ten for wife, it being within their rights when betrothed to her from infancy. The child, trained for this, played her part with becoming decorum. This custom rested upon high utilitarian, if not moral, grounds; making the wife a product wholly of the husband's molding—his echo, his shadow. The unspeakable brutality of customs attending these nuptials is plainly indicated. The author also takes pains to show that love within marriage was a thing as unknown to early Christian society as it was to the society of ancient Greece or Rome. A man in love with his wife would be a disgraceful spectacle. All the lampoons and ballads of his day were leveled at him. Marriage was a stern social duty; love a matter quite outside that. Reading between the lines, it is easily seen why women of early times were so prone to discover a vocation for the religious life, and even received calls from Heaven to enter a cloister after marriage.

The only protest against child-marriage, it seems, came from doctors, and this on purely physical grounds—a warning against imperiling the health of the race. In high life a son could hold no daily intercourse with his mother after his seventh year, for fear of becoming effeminate. The system of fosterage took from the mother even her baby girl, though after she was nursed the child was given to her mother to be trained for marriage. Fortunately, custom permitted these women full power to represent their husbands, and as the latter were half their time absent on war or other mission, the women came thus to develop much executive ability.

Oddly enough, the author is able to show that the women, as a rule, became content with their lot. If a sore-hearted young wife ran home to her mother, she was promptly brought back to her husband by father, brother, or cousin. "The freemasonry between men on this point was perfect." A detached woman had no existence outside a convent. Even the lot of a widow was made intolerable. Suttee in India, the author hints, was a refinement on it; yet, for all that, the complaints and raillery against marriage came from the men—the women had no means of making themselves heard.

When the child of some fair slave, bought by her husband in the market at Venice, as in the case of Carlo de Medici, son of the grave and æsthetic Cosimo—was brought to a high-born dame to be treated as if it were her own, she understood her duty. "It would never have occurred to a wife," says M. de Maulde, "to desert her home for a grievance like this. To do so would have made her a general laughing-stock. She might feel keen inward suffering, perhaps her heart would close a little more towards earth and open out towards Heaven. . . . It would teach her to show a firm front to the world, to live among her ideals, to form a low estimate of men."

And thus by many paths does the author lead us on to see how the great ladies of Italy, and later elsewhere, worked out their own mental and spiritual emancipation by creating a life of their own, independent of material environment; how they mingled the cult of Plato with the cult of Christ, and sought, and for a time maintained, a Utopia on earth. But the scope of a book like this can hardly be indicated in a notice, and

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rarely does so readable a book on a serious subject appear.

The propulsion of the feminine genius was immense. It seemed to rise with the dreams of Vasco da Gama and Columbus; it reached full flower with Michelangelo and Raphael; and it suffered total eclipse during the reign of Luther and Calvin.

"Between 1483 and 1515," says the author, "a strange generation was rising. Luther, Calvin, St. Ignatius, Rabelais, St. Theresa, were born pell-mell; and yet, thanks to this philosophy, every one wore the livery of happiness, and dagger and poison hid themselves in the shade. Never were agitating problems more cheerfully discussed. . . . Yes, women knew the real value of the visionary and the immaterial, the value of the riches of the soul."

And yet we easily perceive that these women of Italy were not what we to-day would call intellectual—they were less so than some of the women of the eighteenth century in France. Theirs was less the gift to think than the gift to idealize, to sympathize, to create joy; to revel in a wealth of temperament let loose after long repression. Spiritual exaltation was their goal, sensibility their keynote. By this they rose, reigned, and fell. They suffered, too, from the defect common to women—timidity. All of them, from Vittoria Colonna, Margaret of France, and Louise of Savoy, down to hosts of less famous lights, were set above the ken of the great forces at work in the vast and common world beyond their pale.

These women easily conquered their own territory. They amazed the men of their world. The great artists glorified them; the great prelates of the Church were with them in their movement for uplifting humanity. Men of fashion and the world were drawn in, too; but anon these, together with the poets, began to deify the famous courtesans—many of whom were the most brilliant women of the age—and set them on a pinnacle alongside the great ladies. Gradually platonism, the worship of art and beauty, the religion of holy love, became confusion worse confounded. The author shows that these women looked up to the men about them, fancying them towers of strength where men themselves know they are weakest.

On one point all were agreed—namely, disregard for the monks and inferior clergy—the ubiquitous, aggressive, low-born servants of the Church. The court wits were never done mocking, lampooning them; and, with all their dabbling in astrology, they failed to read in the stars that the monks were destined to arise and crush them! The heavy, beer-drinking monks from the north were especially condemned. Germany was almost *terra incognita* to Rome. Its women were too benighted to be heard from. Even the language sent from the Rhine was misread at the Roman court; the center failed to see how its comedy had become tragic in the provinces.

According to the researches of M. de Maulde, these women knew that a religious revolution was in the air, but neither they nor the liberal-minded prelates about them measured its force. They had long desired reforms, and they had enjoyed the opinions of the great men of their day, Erasmus and Melanchthon included. Luther was not of their world. Calvin they heard of, after he had roused in some of the French priests their ancient jealousy of the powers of the Roman court. In the end Vittoria Colonna herself sought an interview with Calvin in the interests of peace, but this she never obtained.

The book is a mine of information concerning things not easily accessible and therefore not commonly understood. There was no spontaneous woman movement in France; the women there were too bound to the masculine yoke and to narrow, formal religious observances. The royal ladies took up the rôle in emulation of those of Italy. It was then virile Spain that produced the women of real intellect and learning. Donna Maria Pacheco de Mendoza; Isabel of Cordova; Catherine Ribera, bard of love and faith; Beatrice of Galena, professor at the University of Salamanca; Isabella Rosera, who preached in the Cathedral at Toledo, and who went to Rome to convert the Jews, and incidentally to comment on the famous Irishman, Scotus Erigena, before a lot of dumfounded Cardinals; and, most wonderful of all, Loysa Sygea, of Portugal, a "father of the Church," who at twenty-two favored Pope Paul III. with her advice in five little-understood languages. To this the Pope replied in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, and excused himself in regard to Arabic and Chaldean.

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There, too, was that woman of high gifts and over-opulent nature, whose mystic power keeps her an enigma to this day, St. Theresa. Yet, with all this talent, these women failed of the power wielded by the more feminine women of Italy.

M. de Maulde shows that learning was not so very rare; even in humble life there were girls who could both read and speak Latin, and in high life women vied with the prelates in knowledge of the Bible—it was a marvelous age!

The learning of exceptional women in England, of whom Lady Jane Grey and Queen Elizabeth were examples, is shown to be due to Spanish influence, set in motion by Vivès, one of the world-famous teachers, tutor at the court of Isabella the Catholic, and with whose daughter, Catharine of Aragon, he came to England. It was Erasmus who said he created "Topsyturveydom," by making English women more learned than the sea-roving men.

M. de Maulde, at heart a liberal, insists that it was at Rome that liberal ideas had birth. With the large-viewed reformers of the period he is in touch. With Luther and Calvin it is quite evident he has no temperamental kinship. "Luther," he says, "invented nothing. All he said, and more, had been said at Rome fifty years before him. He caught certain floating ideas and fixed those that had passed into current morality. This was to attack dilettanteism. The gentle feminine and Latinist prelates, with their tolerance and openness of mind and intellectual freedom—Sadoleto, the friend of Melanchthon, Contarini, Pole, Flaminio, Vergerio—all deplored the degradation of their handiwork. They felt as a Raphael painter would feel if he found his dreams copied in a picture by Espinal. At bottom they considered Zwingle and Melanchthon two of themselves, and they did not despair of achieving the triumph of freedom by freedom itself. Such, as we know, was the policy of Pole at Ratisbon and of Vergerio at Worms; but, despite the support of Vittoria Colonna, Margaret of France, and the whole band of enthusiastic and ardent women, they did not succeed; they were caught between two fires. . . .

"Catholicism, roused to action, henceforth asked for nothing except to condemn. It was a sudden drop from the ideal back to earth, a dreadful battle of personalities, a life-and-death struggle, with mythical or literal methods of exegesis for weapons. Erasmus was already writing: 'These interpreters of the language of heaven go off like gunpowder, they frown most terribly. What is Hütten to me? Shall I prefer the authority of Luther to that of the Pope? If we had not received a Pope, we would have had to invent one.' 'They scream, and scuffle, and insult one another,' sneers Des Périers, who no longer believed even in the existence of a God. 'Blessed are the poor in spirit,' concludes Agrippa; 'blessed are illiterate people, like the apostles; blessed is an ass!'"

Samples of the author's genial humor might be cited indefinitely. His mind, open and eclectic, searches every cranny, and nothing appears to escape him. Yet it is all the while obvious that he would not if he could part with one of his Latin predilections. He sees that the glory of feminism could not have lasted; he admits that a reformation was inevitable; but he regrets that it did not come from within, and he enjoys his quiet fling at the "fog, beer, and brutality" of some of its projectors, and he pithily asks, "What now is left of Calvinism?"

He treats this whole period as a war between masculine and feminine—the virile and the supple—and he shows us the latter trampled on, royal women struck down by the hand of husbands. And then he points to feminism and æstheticism resurrected, and again the most invincible of social forces and the support of religion itself—while even material science seems to be verifying some of the oldest of feminine intuitions. It is impossible, indeed, to escape certain likenesses between the age he lays bare and that through which we are now passing, and this forms not the least of the interesting features of the work. He does not dogmatize, he interprets; he does not argue, he enlightens; and he closes leaving the reader to his own impressions; only seeming to invite him to watch for future developments.

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Books of the Week

This report of current literature is supplemented by fuller reviews of such books as in the judgment of the editors are of special importance to our readers. Any of these books will be sent by the publishers of The Outlook, postpaid, to any address on receipt of the published price.

Bird Book (The). By Fannie Hardy Eckstorm. Illustrated. D. C. Heath & Co., Boston. 5×7½ in. 276 pages. 60c.

It is a notable excellence of this book that it deals, not only with the classification and individual characteristics of birds, but also very largely with environment and habits. Such subjects as "Protection through Color," "Safety and its Relation to Color," "Migration and Distribution," are treated in a readable and informative manner.

Canada under British Rule, 1760-1900. By Sir John C. Bourinot, K.C.M.G., LL.D., Litt.D. With Eight Maps. (Cambridge Historical Series.) The Macmillan Co., New York. 5×7¾ in. 352 pages. $1.50.

This seems like a hastily prepared description of present conditions in China. It is a graphic description, however, and has been written at first hand and largely from actual experience; the writer is the pastor of Grace Church at Wuhu, on the Yangtse River; he is also the editor of the "China Messenger." He believes that the insurrection was planned by the heads of the Imperial Government at Peking.

Christie, the King's Servant. By Mrs. O. F. Walton. Illustrated. The Bible Institute Colportage Association, Chicago. 4¾×7 in. 121 pages. 15c.

Earth, Sky, and Air in Song. Book I. By W. H. Neidlinger. Illustrated by Walter Bobbett. 7½×9 in. 127 pages. 70c.

In spite of its rather cumbrous title, this little volume is an excellent contribution to the various collections of children's songs which have been produced in this country in large numbers during the last ten or fifteen years. Mr. Neidlinger has had experience and success before in writing music of a simple and yet of an artistic quality for children, and has again succeeded. We take the occasion to say, what we have said more than once before, that, in our opinion, the best collection of songs for children, musically speaking, which has ever been published is the volume of Mother Goose melodies composed by J. W. Elliott, the well-known English organist and choirmaster.

Eastover Court House. By Henry Burnham Boone and Kenneth Brown. Harper & Bros., New York. 5×7¾ in. $1.50.

This is the first of a series of twelve American novels which Harper & Brothers propose to publish during the current year. They are to be written by American writers and to deal with different aspects of contemporary American life. This story deals with what remains of plantation life in Virginia; with men and women who have inherited the ideals, the spirit, and the manners of the old régime. It has, therefore, a great deal of attractiveness from many points of view; but it is a story exceptional among Southern stories because it touches incidentally on love for a married woman. The standard of social purity in the South has been so conspicuously high that such a plot must be regarded as very exceptional; and it is a misfortune that the initial volume in this series should turn upon such a notive. The out-of-door life, the types of Old Virginia and of rustic character, are very vividly drawn, and the story has a great deal of vitality. It has some of the elements which have given "David Harum" popularity, for it has a good deal to say about horses, and about the men who deal in them and raise them.

Evolution Theory (The): A Historical and Scientific Examination of the Claims of Evolutionists, as they are set forth in "The Evolution of Christianity." By Francis M. Bruner. The Kenyon Printing and Manufacturing Co., Des Moines, Ia. 5¼×8 in. 227 pages.

Factory People and Their Employers. By Edwin L. Shuey, M.A. Illustrated. Lentilhon & Co., New York. 4½×7 in. 224 pages.

French Monarchy (The), 1483-1789. By A. J. Grant, M.A. In 2 vols. The Macmillan Co., New York. (Cambridge Historical Series.) 5×7¾ in. $2.25.

After a survey of the whole field in the smaller histories of France by Lavisse or Duruy, or in the larger general works by Kitchin, Martin, or Michelet, these volumes form a valuable addition to one's knowledge of a special period in the history of France—namely, from the death of Louis XI. to the end of the absolute monarchy which he had reaffirmed. As the author remarks, the study of foreign history has one great advantage. While it enforces the solidarity of nations, it allows a study of the problems of civilization, without those distortions and exaggerations produced by national egotism. Some readers may be surprised at the conclusions reached in these admirable volumes. Their author shows that,

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despite its dismal corruption, the monarchy in the eighteenth century nevertheless rendered signal services to France, actually anticipating in some instances the good offices of the Revolution itself. Mr. Grant claims that, at its best, the monarchy maintained order, protected the commons against the nobles, and promoted national unity. In this he follows the astute lead of Alexis de Tocqueville, who declared that the French Revolution did not cause a complete breach with the past. Mr. Grant believes, however, that under the Louises corruption had become hopeless.

Friars and Filipinos: An Abridged Translation of Dr. José Rizal's Tagalog Novel "Noli Me Tangere." By Frank Ernest Gannett. The St. James Press, New York. 5×7½ in. 276 pages.

This is another translation of Dr. Rizal's famous novel of Filipino life—"Noli Me Tangere." We have already referred at some length to a previous translation. Like that, the present version abridges the story considerably. Dr. Rizal's book is of the greatest value to all who wish to form a clear idea of Filipino character and the conditions of life in the islands. This translation seems to be made with skill and discrimination.

Girls' Christian Names: Their History, Meaning, and Association. By Helena Swan. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. 3¾×6 in. 516 pages. $1.50.

This book is a model of size, paper, and print. Its five hundred pages are devoted to explaining the history, meaning, and association of an astounding number of feminine names. The volume is worthy to stand alongside Miss Yonge's "History of Christian Names," or Dr. Michaelis's "Wörterbuch der gebräuchlichsten Taufnamen"—indeed, the new work is far more interesting than those, combining as it does their excellences with such pleasant and profitable lore as that found in Friend's "Flowers," Mrs. Jameson's and Dr. Butler's books on the Saints, and Baring-Gould's "Myths of the Middle Ages."

Hans Memlinc. By W. H. James Weale. Illustrated. (The Great Masters in Painting and Sculpture.) The Macmillan Co., New York. 5×8 in. 110 pages. $1.75.

One drawback to this volume is its author's self-complacent insistence on the blunders of others and on his own successes in restoring a great painter to his true place in the history of art. After the Van Eycks, Hans Memling (or Memlinc) was certainly the most distinguished master of the early Netherlandish school. It is a pleasure to note his latest biographer's emphasis on Memling's unaffectation, his independent realism and his genuine piety, qualities vivid in all his works, and evident even to the casual sightseer of to-day. They bring him, despite a thousand archaisms, from his far-off fifteenth-century time close to our own twentieth-century ideas and ideals.

How the Garden Grew. By Maud Maryon. Illustrated. Longmans, Green & Co., New York. 5½×8 in. 255 pages. $1.50.

"Elizabeth" in her famous book about her German garden talked more about people than about plants, to the great pleasure of her countless readers; the author of this book keeps the garden in the foreground, although there is also cheerful and sometimes mildly sentimental talk about folks. Experiments in an English garden and a happy year occupied therein provide the subject-matter.

Letters of Love and Labor. By Samuel M. Jones. The Franklin Printing and Engineering Co., Toledo, Ohio. 8¾×5 in. 125 pages. 50c.

This little volume consists of fine-spirited letters written by Mayor Jones to his employees in the summer and fall of last year. They deal with social and business relations, and not with politics, if we except a single letter written after the election. Even this letter, like all the rest, shows how completely Mayor Jones carries out Tolstoi's advice to reformers "to be true, to be loving, to be simple." Mayor Jones's faith in the people, and in "all the people," carries with it, as it should, faith in the public spirit of those who uphold public policies which he believes to be criminal. Because of this charity he is able to influence many who differ widely from him in p

[illegible]-Miniature (The): Gum-Bichromate Printing. By F. A. Waugh. Tennant & Ward, 289 Fourth Avenue, New York. 5×8 in. 25c.

This monograph will especially appeal to the amateur photographer of the higher grade, who has artistic skill as well as feeling. The gum process is one, indeed, that seems reserved for the amateur alone, as it does not readily lend itself to commercial uses. Several beautiful reproductions, in color, of the prints made by this process are included in this number. The text embodies a brightly written and lucid explanation of the art.

Quaker Scout (A). By N. P. Runyan. The Abbey Press, New York. 5×8 in. 277 pages. $1.25.

A love story of the Civil War with not a little genuine humanity in it, and of considerable interest as a story, although in places crude in literary execution.

Romance of the Earth (The.) By A. W. Bickerton. Illustrated. The Macmillan Co., New York. 5×7¼ in. 181 pages. 80c.

In a larger way, and for an immensely larger field, this little book carries out the idea of Charles Kingsley's "Town Geology." It

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brings out the fascination and romance of the tremendous forces of geology, and the strange but equally fascinating steps in the processes of plant and animal evolution. The book is made still more popular by the insertion of many simple and clear diagrams and pictures.

Story of Burnt Njal (The): From the Icelandic of the Njals Saga. By Sir George Webbe Dasent, D.C.L. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. 5×7¾ in. 333 pages. $1.50.

A new edition, with a prefatory note and introduction, abridged from the original edition of 1861. The story itself is one of the most interesting and characteristic in the literature of the North; and Sir George Dasent's rendering of it has made it a kind of classic in English.

Teachers' Commentary on the Gospel According to St. Matthew. By F. N. Peloubet, D.D. Illustrated. Oxford University Press (American Branch), New York. 6×8½ in. 380 pages. $1.25.

This work has not only the teacher's needs in view, but also those of the average Bible reader. It is a commentary for the people, and its author's long experience in editing notes on the International Lessons has enabled him to make an excellent book—the forerunner, we judge, of a series. It is rich in illustrative as well as homiletic material from manifold sources, and furnished with maps, charts, etc. On points of recent criticism, as whether Matthew wrote the Greek Gospel which goes by his name, whether there are interpolations, as of the Trintarian formula in xxviii., 19, etc., it is silent. Its conservatism appears also in retaining the doctrine of a visible advent of Christ to raise the dead and judge the world, while it recognizes also his spiritual advent as progressively manifest in history.

Teaching of Latin and Greek in the Secondary School (The). By Charles E. Bennett, A.B., and George P. Bristol, A.M. (American Teachers' Series.) Longmans, Green & Co., New York. 5¼×8 in. 336 pages. $1.50.

This is a rich and stimulating book. Its criticisms of faulty methods and its suggestions of better ones, its practical directions for sound teaching in every stage of a classical course, not only in the languages themselves, but in the connected studies of geography and history, mythology and art, cannot fail to raise the standard of excellence in our secondary schools. The authors have reason to believe that there are excellences in the old method that have been unwisely sacrificed in efforts to improve upon it. They set a high standard, and show how to work up to it. They go into the details of class work, as if they stood in the teacher's place to give him practical illustration. In short, we cannot too warmly commend this book to the attention of those whom it most concerns.

Notes and Queries

It is seldom possible to answer any inquiry in the next issue after its receipt. Those who find expected answers late in coming will, we hope, bear in mind the impediments arising from the constant pressure of many subjects upon our limited space. Communications should always bear the writer's name and address. Any book named in Notes and Queries will be sent by the publishers of The Outlook, postpaid, on receipt of price.

1. When were the last changes made in the Prayer-Book of the Protestant Episcopal Church? 2. What were those changes? 3. And how much time is required to make the smallest change in the Prayer-Book? E.

1. In 1892. 2. The Magnificat was reinstated, and the last part of the Benedictus was added. Some responsive versicles were added, as, "O Lord, save the State" and "Mercifully hear us when we call upon Thee." Since the new Prayer-Book was issued, the General Thanksgiving, formerly repeated in concert, is more commonly repeated by the minister, the congregation responding "Amen." 3. Six years, as proposed changes have to be ratified by two Conventions, the Convention meeting every third year.

Can you give the names of any publications containing, in condensed or tabulated form, the opinions of great men of all times and professions regarding Jesus Christ and his religion?

W. S. W.

If we remember correctly, a little book by the Rev. Dr. Boardman, whose title we cannot recall, published, we think, by the Baptist Publication Society, Philadelphia, contains what you ask for. The same may be found, with a large variety of opinions on other matters of religious teaching, in Kilbourn's "Faiths of Famous Men" (Coates, Philadelphia, $2).

"I. N. L.'s" inquiry for the publishers of Köstlin's Life of Luther elicits from different correspondents, in addition to the information we gave, the statement that an edition of it is published by Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, and another by the Lutheran Publication Society, Philadelphia.

Please to give me the generally accepted rendering of 1 Samuel, chapter xxviii. How does the teaching of this passage differ from modern Spiritualism? C. I. A.

We think that the majority of Bible readers and preachers regard the narrative as involving a miraculous return of Samuel from the world of departed souls. Many of the more educated class, however, regard it as involving no more than shrewd trickery on the part of the necromancer, and nothing essentially different from the performances of some spiritist mediums to-day. For a presentation of this view see a pamphlet, "What of Samuel?" (T. Whittaker, New York).

Permit me to correct the definition given to the inquiry "What is the Yiddish language?" Yiddish is a corrupt German in all its detail. It has very few Hebrew words. Geographical location, and the official language spoken, contribute many words, as well as some modifications, hence the jargon. It is, however, understood by most Jews in the old country, as well as by the recent immigrants to this country. It is estimated that nearly eight million people make daily use of this Yiddish.

A. D. D.

The above is a welcome amplification of the statement made February 2.

Who wrote the poem:

"There is a new, sweet face in heaven,
And it glows with wondrous light,
As the glories of God's kingdom
Are opened to its sight"? M. E. B.

"D. C. C."—Your name and address are required before your inquiries can be answered.

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Correspondence

Authority in Religion[1]

To the Editors of The Outlook:

In your editorials in the number for December 22, commenting on Dr. Bradford's "The Age of Faith," and in the number for the 29th of December, in the article "The Nineteenth Century: A Review, an Interpretation, and a Forecast," I find a suggestion upon which I would like to have a little more light.

You say in the first article that "it is certainly true that the days of authority are gone or rapidly going." This declaration in other forms you repeat. You say that all affirmations of the Church, all its dogmas and doctrines, and all affirmations of the Bible, all its tenets and teachings, the age more and more measures by their conformity to what the Friends have well called the inner light. This looking to the inner light, this trust and confidence and reliance upon it, we call faith.

You say that Dr. Bradford's definition of faith is as you have expressed it, namely, "willingness to act on intuitions; willingness to act on convictions of what is true and right, not because they have been proven, but because the whole man asserts that they ought to be true;" all of which is antithetical, you say, to acting on authority external on man, whether that authority be found in the decree of a church or the teaching of a book. In the second article I have named you arrive at the like declaration in the expression, "This much is certain, that the issue is clearly joined between those who base religion on an external authority in Church or book, and those who base it upon the inward consciousness of God inherent and essential in man's nature, *though both evoked by and interpreted through the Church and the book.*"

Now, I would ask, Do you, after all, by this last sentence recognize the authority of the Church and the book to evoke and interpret the inward consciousness of God in man's nature? If you do not, then will you tell me how a so-called Christian missionary can go to a Buddhist or Confucian and assume to teach him Christianity? The latter has acted on his intuitions. He had in his nature the inward consciousness of God. And then how does this faith of "acting on one's intuitions" differ from the way they did in Israel when "every man did that which was right in his own eyes" (Judges xvii., 6; Deut. xii., 8)? If the Church is not Christ's ordered kingdom of which he is the King, to which he gave authority, out of his all-power in heaven and earth, to teach disciples to observe the things he had commanded, then why, shall we think, did Christ declare that he would build him a church against which all the powers of evil should not prevail? And why should the New Testament writers generally speak of the Church as the pillar and ground of the truth? And then, if there is no external authority at all in religion (of course I suppose you are speaking of the Christian religion), what shall we do with Christ himself? Is it really so that he is not an authority in his religion? If he is such authority, then surely he is so, not apart from his words and life. But where do we get his words and life if not in a book? If his words were authority on his lips, do they not continue to be so when written down in a book? Will you not please make it more plain that, some way, the Church of Christ as an organized body in the world may be so pervaded by the spirit of Christ as to have as much compelling authority with individual men as even their own individual intuitions, and as much more as may be involved in the power to evoke and interpret for the individual? And may we not believe that, as Christ was inspired to speak and act, as his life and speech were authoritative for men, so also is that book inspired and authoritative which contains the record of that life and discourse, which, according to your own words (p. 1023), solidest learning has made it impossible to believe "is to any great extent mythical"?

JOHN K. LEWIS.

Dayton, O.

[1] See editorial response to this letter on another page.

Theodore Stanton

To the Editors of The Outlook:

Allow me to correct a mistake in Booker T. Washington's deeply interesting Reminiscences in the last number of The Outlook. In speaking of my

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son Theodore Stanton's attentions to him in Paris, he calls him "Edwin," the name of the Secretary of War in General Grant's Cabinet—a cousin of my husband, Henry B. Stanton. Theodore, a graduate of Cornell University, is a much younger man. My son was named after Theodore Dwight Weld, one of the eloquent pioneers in the anti-slavery struggle; he married Angelina Grimke, who emancipated her slaves in South Carolina and came North and joined the abolition movement. She was an eloquent speaker and drew large crowds to her lectures. My son is very proud of his name, and would be pleased to see it in The Outlook, as well as in Booker T. Washington's Reminiscences.

ELIZABETH CADY STANTON.

Oleomargarine Again

To the Editors of The Outlook:

Since the publication of an article by "W. B. H." in defense of oleomargarine, several communications have appeared which are manifestly colored and flavored by dairy partisanship. These defenders of dairies would have us believe that imitation butter is being constantly forced upon the poor, unsuspecting public. I am a regular consumer of oleomargarine, and every package which comes to my hand is plainly marked, and I have never seen any effort at deception on the part of the dealers.

A few years ago I visited the packing-houses at Kansas City, and while there witnessed the absolute cleanliness and purity of the oleomargarine industry. This wholesome product I am enabled to purchase at a cost of thirty cents for two pounds, and only an expert can detect any difference between this butter and the best dairy product, which is frequently sold at one pound for thirty cents.

I desire to add my evidence to that of "W. B. H.," to the effect that some of the "best grade" dairy butter is veritably just above rancid. I have purchased dairy butter in the original package, at thirty cents per pound, which was actually so strong to both taste and smell that it could not be eaten with any relish.

And who would not prefer the "absolutely pure" and wholesome oleomargarine to that country butter which is offensive to all of the senses.

I cannot help thinking that if half the energy which is displayed in the effort to destroy the oleomargarine industry, and at the same time deprive thousands of people of the privilege of buying a cheap but pure butter, were diverted to other real adulterations, some good might be accomplished.

I have just had my attention called to a new brand of cheap coffee which was put on the market at ten cents per pound. It is the product of a certain red-lead coloring process applied to blighted and worthless coffee-beans, the result being a fine-appearing coffee. But the consumer ought to be informed of the danger of having lead compounds mixed with his daily beverage.

The coloring of oleo is not harmful to any one but the selfish dairyman.

EDWIN D. MEEKER, M.D.

Galena, Kansas.

For a Pastor's Library

Some readers, who found benefit in a list which we published early in 1897 of books desirable for a pastor's library, have asked for a list of such books up to date. The following supplementary list has accordingly been prepared. It includes only the issues of the last four years, and is purposely made inclusive of books that appeal to a wide variety of interests.

THEOLOGICAL

The Evolution of Trinitarianism—Paine.
The Atonement—a symposium of seventeen theologians.
God's Education of Man—Hyde.
How Much is Left of the Old Doctrines?—Gladden.
The Present Position of Protestantism—Harnack.
Roman Catholic Doctrines Explained and Discussed for Catholics and Protestants—Foster.
Reconciliation by Incarnation—Simon.
The Divine Drama—Pike.
The Theology of an Evolutionist—Abbott.
The History of Dogma, seven volumes—Harnack.
Immortality and the New Theodicy—Gordon.
Biblical Theology of the New Testament—Gould.
What is Catholicism?—Scherer.

EXEGETICAL AND CRITICAL

The Expositor's Greek Testament.
The Synoptic Gospels (a commentary)—Cary.
The Epistles of Paul the Apostle (a commentary)—Drummond.
Messages of the Earlier Prophets—Sanders and Kent.

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Messages of the Later Prophets—Sanders and Kent.
Messages of the Apostles—Stevens.
Messages of Paul—Stevens.
Biblical Introduction—Bennett and Adeney.
The Jowett Lectures for 1898–99 (eschatological)—Charles.
The Revelation of Jesus—Gilbert.
Introduction to the Study of Holy Scripture—Briggs.
Outline of the History of the Literature of the Old Testament—Kautzsch.
The Life and Literature of the Ancient Hebrews—Abbott.
Biblical Apocalyptics—Terry.
Seven Puzzling Books—Gladden.
Some Lessons of the Revised Version of the New Testament—Westcott.
Introduction to the New Testament—Bacon.
History of Textual Criticism—Vincent.
History of the Higher Criticism—Nash.
Concordance to the Greek Testament—Moulton and Geden.
The Twentieth Century New Testament.

PHILOSOPHICAL

The Conception of God—Royce and others.
The Conception of Immortality—Royce.
The World and the Individual—Royce.
Problems of Philosophy—Hibben.
Man's Place in the Cosmos—Seth.
The Place of Death in Evolution—Smyth.

HISTORICAL

Neglected Factors in the Study of the Early Progress of Christianity—Orr.
Christian Institutions—Allen.
Authority and Archæology—Driver and others.
The Monuments and the Old Testament—Price.
The History of Christianity in the Apostolic Age—McGiffert.
Two Thousand Years Before Carey (the story of Christian missions)—Barnes.
History of Babylonia and Assyria; two volumes—Rogers.
History of the Hebrew People—Kent.
History of the Jewish People—Kent.
History of the Jewish People, Maccabean and Roman Periods—Riggs.
Rise of the New Testament—Muzzey.
The Age of the Renascence—Van Dyke.
The Anglican Reformation—Clark.
History of American Christianity—Bacon.
History of the Presbyterian Church—Patton.
The Papacy in the Nineteenth Century—Nippold.
The Church in Germany—Baring-Gould.

RELIGIOUS AND ETHICAL

Jewish Religious Life Before the Exile—Budde.
Jewish Religious Life After the Exile—Cheyne.
Elements of the Science of Religion; two volumes—Tiele.
The Making of Religion—Lang.
Through Nature to God—Fiske.
Early Christian Literature—Krüger.
Christian Missions and Social Progress—Dennis.
Genesis of the Social Conscience—Nash.
Ethics and Revelation—Nash.
Social Facts and Forces—Gladden.
The Social Teaching of Jesus—Mathews.
Religious Movements for Social Betterment—Strong.
The Social Meaning of Modern Religious Movements in England—Hall.
The Christian Pastor and the Working Church—Gladden.
The New Epoch of Faith—Gordon.
Modern Methods in Church Work—Mead.
The City Wilderness—Woods (editor).
Jesus Christ and the Social Question—Peabody.
The Psychology of Religion—Starbuck.
Spiritual Life (a psychological study)—Coe.
The New Citizenship—Batten.
The Evangelization of the World in this Generation—Mott.
A Religion that will Wear—A Presbyterian Layman.
Report of the Ecumenical Conference of 1900 in New York.
The Facts of the Moral Life—Wundt.
Ethical Systems—Wundt.
The Slavery of Our Times—Tolstoï.
Parables for Our Times—Calkins.
Plain Talk in Psalm and Parable—Crosby.
The Workers—Wyckoff.
Fields, Factories, and Workshops—Kropotkin.
America's Working People—Spahr.
Industrial Democracy—Webb.
Municipal Monopolies—Bemis and others.
Monopolies and Trusts—Ely.
Government in Switzerland—Vincent.
Newest England—Lloyd.

BIOGRAPHICAL

James Martineau—Jackson.
Theodore Parker—Chadwick.
Horace Bushnell, Preacher and Theologian—Munger.
The Life of Philip Schaff—Schaff.
Tennyson's Memoirs—by his Son.
Five Great Oxford Leaders—Donaldson.
The Life and Letters of Phillips Brooks—Allen.
The Life of Henry Drummond—G. A. Smith.
Dwight L. Moody—by his Son.
Archbishop Plunket—How.

MISCELLANEOUS

Encyclopædia Biblica—Cheyne and Black.
Dictionary of the Bible—Hastings.
Dictionary of the Bible—Davis.
The Art of Public Speaking—Lee.
The Making of the Sermon—Pattison.
The Story of Nineteenth Century Science—Williams.
The Method of Evolution—Conn.
Man and his Ancestor—Morris.
Man, Past and Present—Keane.
Hypnotism in Mental and Moral Culture—Quackenbos.
Studies in Psychical Research—Podmore.
Apparitions and Thought Transference—Podmore.

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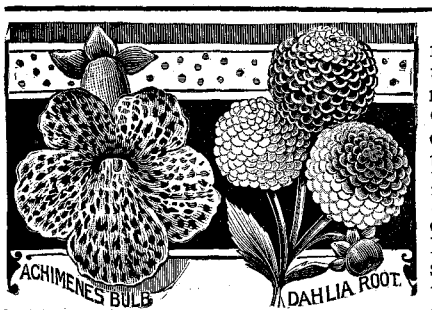

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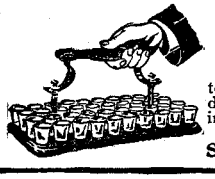

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